KI'I PĀPĀLUA: IMAGERY AND COLONIALISM IN HAWAI'I

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

POLITICAL SCIENCE

MAY 2008

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DEDICATION

In loving memory of my parents: Bernice Ka‘imiola Nāpu‘unōa Nakamoto, whose own lived experiences as a hula practitioner provided inspiration, and Edward Kenji Nakamoto, who fell in love with her.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my parents, Sandy and Richard Keawe; Shirley and Bill Solis; my siblings and family, collectively you all have contributed to this achievement. I thank you for your patience, understanding, unconditional love and support of me as I undertook this project.

My sincere gratitude goes to Mike Shapiro, Hāli‘imaile Andrade, Kathie Kane, Louise Kubo and Neal Milner. Thank you all for serving on my dissertation committee. I have learned much from your guidance, encouragement, support and patience while I completed this journey in the sea of knowledge.

To Manu Ka‘iama and the Native Hawaiian Leadership Project, thank you for funding support which allowed me to present my research at local, national and international conferences.

To my colleagues at Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies and Co-curricular Activities Programs and Services, I thank you for your encouragement and support of my research.

To Kapā‘anaokalāokeola Oliveira, Puni Kukahiko and Kupihea Romero, thank you for generously sharing your work with me. To Aaron J. Salā, thank you for “repositioning me to the front of the line.” Your generosity will never be forgotten!

To RaeDeen Keahiolalo Karasuda, I thank you for being my companion on this journey in the sea of knowledge. We began this journey together simply wanting to finish our degrees and in the process, learned much more than we could
have ever imagined. There is “no coincidence” that you and I were paired for this life changing experience.

To Pi‘ilani and Moku Kaʻaloha, I thank you for the myriad of personal and professional contributions you both have made to assist in the completion of this journey.

To April Drexel and Joscelyn Ahu, I do not know and cannot begin to imagine how to thank you for all you have done to help me. Thank you for creating the invitation to help me learn and understand the codes and strategic maneuvering in the “game of life.” I thank you for feeding my mind, my body and my soul. There is no doubt that generations of my family will continue to benefit from your selfless acts of kindness. I remain grateful to you both for your friendship and love.

Finally to Kekeha Solis, thank you for your unconditional love, unwavering support and unceasing encouragement which sustained me throughout this entire process. You are a daily confirmation that I have truly been blessed beyond measure.
ABSTRACT

This dissertation takes the reader on a journey through a spatial imaginary of visual and textual galleries. The galleries become spaces, places to discuss, to look, to see, to make meaning, and learn how the image of the Hawaiian hula girl has been and continues to be appropriated, mis-represented and commodified.

Organized into six galleries, this spatial imaginary serves as cognitive maps for Kanaka Maoli to receive knowledge, awareness, understanding, recognition, comprehension, to re-fresh the mind, and de-colonize the Hawaiian hula girl image from its subjugation.

It aims to locate the blurring of the boundaries between imagery and colonialism in Hawai‘i. Through a semiotic reading of images, photographs and advertisements of the Hawaiian hula girl, these galleries will tease out and expose the structures of colonialism which are concealed behind the imagery of the Hawaiian hula girl.

The journey in this spatial imaginary is a counter-narrative told through a Kanaka Maoli perspective juxtaposed against meta-narratives fueled by western hegemony concerning our people, history, culture and most importantly our identity. Various textualities explain how we have inherited a dominant colonizer’s history that does not belong to us but rhetorically erases the realities of our people.
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Introduction
Ho‘onohonoho I Waineki Kauhale O Limaloa¹: Entertaining Hawai‘i

The pū² (conch shell)³ sounds, signaling an arrival perhaps. Stunning hues of yellow, orange, gold and brown blend into a picturesque sunset that permeates a vast open ocean. The thrill and excitement of waves crash against the jagged reef. A wa‘a (canoe)⁴ and paddlers travel across the foreground against the majestic sunset. Night falls suddenly as the sky transforms from a brilliant sunset to jet black. Immediately, we are moving from the shore line to an undisclosed location on land, a group of men and women walk with fire-lit torches that illuminate an unpaved path. The women in hula kahiko (old, ancient or long ago)⁵ attire

¹ Mary Kawena Pukui, ‘Olelo No ‘eau: Hawaiian proverbs & poetical sayings, Bernice P. Bishop Museum special publication; no. 71 (Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press, 1983), 118. Pukui tells us that Limaloa is the god of mirages. This adage speaks to the development of ideas, the setting of plans, and the arrangement of ordering things. Critically examining the development of ideas, the setting of plans and the ordering of things led to the lexical ambiguity found within the notion of “Entertaining Hawai‘i” as a mirage, a fantasy.

² Because ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i is not foreign to the place from where I write, I do not italicize Hawaiian words. By doing so, I hope to heighten the level of consciousness for those unaware of the issues relating to Hawaiian sovereignty, language and culture.


⁴ Ibid., 375.

⁵ Ibid., 112. In the hula community, this term is often used to differentiate between particular time periods as well as styles of hula. Kahiko refers to a traditional style of dancing perhaps before colonialism occurred. The term ‘auwana refers to a more modern style of hula.
overlaid with dried grass, raffia or ti leaf (Cordyline Fruticosa)\textsuperscript{6} skirts,\textsuperscript{7} the men dressed in malo (loin cloth).\textsuperscript{8} Both, men and women are adorned with lush lei po'o (lei worn on the head),\textsuperscript{9} lei 'ārī (neck lei)\textsuperscript{10} and kūpe'e (bracelet or anklet).\textsuperscript{11} Through its pulsating beat, the reverberation of the pahu (drum)\textsuperscript{12} commands attention. The group, in neat, single filed lines, begins to hula (dance).\textsuperscript{13} As the dance evolves, they maintain solemn facial expressions. This moment permits the dancers to become storytellers fully engaged in “a living embodiment of...the history, the language and culture.”\textsuperscript{14} The story is never fully revealed. What is apparent is that the viewers have been transported through time and history -- to “pre-contact”\textsuperscript{15} Hawai‘i.

\textsuperscript{6} Isabella Aiona Abbott, \textit{La‘au Hawai‘i: traditional Hawaiian uses of plants} (Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 3.

\textsuperscript{7} The hula skirt is usually made from dried grass, raffia or ti leaf. In subsequent pages, I will show alternative materials used to make the hula skirt.


\textsuperscript{9} Ibid., 201.

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., 200.

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 185.

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 300.

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 88.

\textsuperscript{14} Kumu Hula, Kanaka Maoli activist and founder of ʻIlio‘ulaokalani, Victoria Holt Takamine talks about her lived experiences of hula. Chad Pata, "Hula is My Life," \textit{Midweek}, October 26, 2005, 34; 46.

\textsuperscript{15} I am specifically referring to a time in Hawai‘i’s history, prior to the arrival of westerners to Hawaiian shores.
The camera lens initially focused on the dancers gradually pans downward after a single handed paʻi (to slap, beat)\(^{16}\) on the pahu. Inching closer and closer, re-directing attention toward the bottom of the cinema screen, the viewers recognize a boulder with an obscured inscription etched on it. Could this inscription be a petroglyph? It is precisely when the camera comes to a complete stop that the viewers are able to clearly distinguish the inscription. It is an image of a tropical seascape. The sun placed slightly behind coconut trees reflects on the tops of the waves. Suddenly, a bold statement appears below the inscribed image: “Entertaining Hawaiʻi since 1917.”

If you have ever gone to see a film or a movie in a theatre in Hawaiʻi, chances are you may have experienced the scenes just described. These scenes serve as a frame to advertise Consolidated Theatres in Hawaiʻi. I vividly recall my reactions to this visual advertisement. There I was seated in the theatre feeling enraptured, while simultaneously thinking to myself, “Wow -- this is so incredibly beautiful! And why shouldn’t I feel this way? After all, it is beautiful! The magnificent scenic landscapes, the golden sunsets that sparkle on the Pacific ocean, and my people engaged in our national dance, the hula.” As the advertisement came to a close, I thought to myself, this is the everyday backdrop in Hawaiʻi, it is paradise.

This visual advertisement successfully captures the rhetorical trope. Tropes are figures of speech. My visual understanding of a trope is similar to what I

imagine a bank of images to be, a repository of images. Specifically for Hawai‘i, that repository is filled with a plethora of images that include magnificent golden sunsets; breath-taking images of the Pacific Ocean detailed in multi-layered hues of blue and green; pristine, white sandy beaches; endless coconut trees swaying in the balmy breeze, and of course the hula girl with her long, dark hair, dressed in her coconut bra, grass skirt and wearing lei. These images can be used to create a language system to convey messages. Rhetorical tropes are repeating images, and the imagery — paradise — is synonymous with Hawai‘i the world over. Being born and having lived my entire life in Hawai‘i, my ‘āina hānau (birth land),17 who better to know this than I. So logically it made perfect sense to me that I would become enraptured in this visual advertisement just as those who come to Hawai‘i, to “paradise,”18 hoping to escape from the everyday activities of their own lives. However, what is of great concern about this rhetorical trope is that it is often viewed through the lens of entertainment. When viewed in this manner, the imagery that comprises this rhetorical trope masks and conceals the colonial structures that lie “hidden in plain sight.”19

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17 Ibid., 11.
19 This phrase is borrowed from the dissertation title of Kathleen O. Kane, "Hidden in Plain Sight: the metaphysics of gender and death" (Ph.D. dissertation University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 1994).
It has been several years since I first experienced this advertisement. Yet the allure of beautiful scenery still continues to fill me with astonishment. In spite of this, I now find myself looking at this advertisement with critical eyes, teasing out the imagery that masks the structures of colonialism. At a latter point, I will return to my discussion about the Consolidated Theatre’s visual advertisement and complete my analytical observations about the imagery and colonialism found in Hawai‘i.

This text takes a critical look at the rhetorical trope of Hawai‘i. Specifically, I focus on the *Hawaiian hula girl* image that persists in this rhetorical trope. Through a semiotic reading of various textures which include photographs, images, and advertisements, I explore the appropriation, mis-representation and continued commodification of the *Hawaiian female image*. The employment of semiotics proves useful in revealing a multiplicity of political codes and narratives created within the patriarchal structures of colonialism.

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20 The italicization of this phrase and its parts discern the foreign ideology superimposed by such imaging.

21 See: Bob Hodge and Gunther R. Kress, *Social Semiotics* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988); Nick Lacey, *Image and Representation: key concepts in media studies* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); Kaja Silverman, *The Subject of Semiotics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983). My understanding of *semiotics* is the process of how meaning is constructed and then understood. Later, I will revisit the concept of *semiotics* in subsequent sections of this text. Perhaps for now, it might be useful to think of *semiotics* as a means of communication. A kind of communication which includes words, images, gestures, scents, tastes, textures and sounds used as signs or codes to convey a message.
imposed on Kānaka Maoli. This critical reading of the *Hawaiian hula girl* image is important because it exposes the intersecting oppressive processes of race, class and gender in a particular and highly contested cultural space as well as the narratives that construct the *hula girl* as the basis for a fictional, fantasy-driven culture.

In the context of World Indigenous Peoples, the impact of colonization has left Kānaka Maoli struggling to embrace our language, culture, traditions and spirituality. As a result of colonialism, Kānaka Maoli have been denied access to

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22 I have chosen the term “Kanaka Maoli” to reference Hawaiians (individuals whose kūpuna [ancestors] were the first peoples of the Hawaiian archipelago). At this time, there is a diversity of voices within the Hawaiian community that utilize various terms (like “Kanaka ‘Ōiwi,” “Ōiwi Maoli” or “Keiki Papa” etc.) to specifically reference themselves. Because the process of sovereignty for my people is still in progress, it is important for me to acknowledge the various ways in which we, as indigenous peoples, define ourselves. My use of this term is intentional because I do not want to silence or diminish any of the voices within my community, but rather, to recognize the diversity amongst my people and celebrate the unique perspectives that we engage with in our struggle for independence.

Recently the referent “Hawaiian” is being used inappropriately to refer to all residents in Hawai‘i. The casual application of this referent follows a practice whereby the state you reside in becomes your identity. For example, the “residents” in states like Texas, Oregon and California are often referred to as Texans, Oregonians and Californians. In the context of strong political awareness the use of the referent “Hawaiian” should be carefully examined. “Hawaiian” is an identity of a specific group of people whose ancestors were the first peoples of the Hawaiian archipelago. Therefore, this referent does not apply and should not be used by those who cannot make this ancestral claim. I raise this concern because of the rapid increase in the inappropriate use of the referent “Hawaiian” for all persons who reside in Hawai‘i, including those who are immigrants to Hawai‘i. My mention of this situation is to elevate awareness and education about identity theft of Kānaka Maoli which proliferates in this manner.

23 See: Alani Apio, "1,000 Little Paper Cuts to Genocide: Hawaiian culture is being slowly bled to death," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, Sunday, February 25, 2001; Lilikalā Kame‘elehiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: how shall we live in harmony? Ko Hawai‘i ‘Āina a me Nā Koi Pu’umake a ka Po’e Haole: pehea lā e pono ai?* (Honolulu,
control the images that have re-presented them. The process by which people away from Hawai‘i became familiar with Kānaka Maoli were the result of travelers’ tales -- including explorers and their artists, photographs, and much later, Hollywood films, radio and television programs.

In archival collections are images of Kānaka Maoli accompanied by non-indigenous narratives that reinforced the re-presentations of our people as

24 April A. H. Drexel, "Umia ka Hanu: resisting "images"/determining ourselves," (UH Mānoa, 2005). Viewers need to be cognizant of the bias or creative license of the artist already imbedded in the re-presentation of these images.

25 Artists like John Webber, Jacques Arago and Louis Choris. Their drawings and sketches about Hawai‘i, the land and her people became the canonical lens through which the world came to know our people and culture.

26 Popular films like Bird of Paradise, Blue Hawaii, Waikiki Wedding, etc. In this text, titles of these films are spelled without diacritical marks (such as ‘okina—glottal stop and kahakō—macron) which reflect the manner of their presentation when they were published.

27 Programs like Hawai‘i Calls when, “in its heyday, the show was heard on over 600 radio stations in North America and scores of other stations in Australia, New Zealand, Mexico, South America, Africa, and on Armed Forces Radio throughout the world.” See "Hawai‘i Calls," http://www.hularecords.com/radio/.
inhabitants of a primitive society. Against the backdrop of an "Eden-like"
paradise, images of Kānaka Maoli were depicted as "childlike, simple and
innocent," where the world has been led to believe that everyday life consists of
fishing, gathering coconuts, bananas, feasting, dancing and lovemaking. It is
with this idealizing trope that Kānaka Maoli, especially Kanaka Maoli women's
identity, have been constructed with a supposedly un-civilized and un-restrained
sexuality as the hula girl. More than a century later, similar re-presentations of
Kānaka Maoli would lead to "a single, sexualized dimension that became a staple
in the genre [visual culture] of Hawai‘i."30

As this text began to take root, I frequently grappled with questions as to
what I wanted to say about "looking at looking in Hawai‘i." I also struggled with
how I would "show seeing."31 It seemed the more I pondered these questions, the

28 Johnston, "Advertising Paradise: Hawai‘i in art, anthropology and commercial
photography," 188-225. Here Eden is described by Johnston in the context of Gauguin’s
works and its, "indirect biblical and allegorical references and translate his vision of
idyllic Pacific Islands into the Garden of Eden.” My use of this term is used in
conjunction with Johnston’s description but also with an emphasis of an imagined
"utopia” of perfection. A myth created to construct a heavenly fantasy. For more
information about myths see: Roland Barthes, Mythologies (New York: Hill and Wang,
1972).

29 Houston Wood, Displacing Natives: the rhetorical production of Hawai‘i (Lanham,
MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 106. See also: Sally Engle Merry,
Colonizing Hawai‘i: the cultural power of law, Princeton studies in culture/power/history

30 Wood, Displacing Natives: the rhetorical production of Hawai‘i, 106.

more apparent it became that I needed not only to talk about what I was seeing but also "show" what I was looking at. In other words, what I needed to do was engage in "show and tell." Therefore this is my story. A story that will be told by showing pictures, images, artworks, photographs, words and figures of the rhetorical trope. It is also a story that tells of the appropriation, mis-representation and continued commodification of the Hawaiian female image, the hula girl.

In order to achieve this goal, I further realized that it was immediately necessary to depart from traditional notions of organization. I then began to "see" more clearly, and better "understand" how this project would come together. In the Kanaka Maoli language, one definition of the word 'ike means to see.\(^{32}\) Therefore, the principal focus of this text revolves around the central theme of 'ike. It is my intent to utilize the multiple definitions -- to know, see, feel, greet, recognize, perceive, experience, be aware, understand, knowledge, awareness, understanding, recognition, comprehension and hence learning; sense as of hearing or sight; sensory; perceptive, vision\(^ {33}\) -- of this Kanaka Maoli term to engage ourselves in the activity of "show and tell." In essence to reveal what I now "know," "understand" and "recognize" about the subjugation of the Hawaiian hula girl. I hope that my engagement of "show and tell" also provides a sense of "understanding," "recognition," and "comprehension" of the Hawaiian hula girl.


\(^{33}\) Ibid.
through visual analysis.

Critically examining the multifarious definitions of the term "‘ike," the word “pāpālua”—twice as much, very much, doubly, couple— and the term “‘ike pāpālua” — to have the gift of second sight — led me to appropriately bare its name, Ki‘i Pāpālua: Imagery and Colonialism in Hawai‘i. Ki‘i Pāpālua is a double-consciousness. The cultural significance of Ki‘i Pāpālua and its connection to visual culture then becomes evident and much more functional for me to re-conceptualize. Therefore, instead of treating this project as a dissertation,

34 Ibid., 318.

35 Ibid., 97.


37 My examination also includes such terms as hō‘ike, ‘ike ho‘omaopopo and ‘ano pāpālua. For detailed explanations of these terms see: Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 75, 96, 318, respectively.

38 W. E. B. Du Bois, Souls of Black Folks, The heritage series (Grand Rapids, MI: Candace Press, 1996); Frantz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks (New York: Grove Press, 1967). This double consciousness causes me to reflect on the words of Palikapu Dedman who talks about how hard it is to be a Hawaiian these days because you need to ascribe to the expectations of what western culture deems how a Hawaiian should be. See: Pele Defense Fund. Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina (Firm), Pele's Appeal (Nā‘ālehu, HI: 30 minutes, Nā Maka O Ka ʻĀina 2005), Videorecording.
I consider Kiʻi Pāpālua a visual exhibit. It becomes a spatial imaginary,\(^3^9\) a space, a place to discuss, to look, to see, to make meaning and learn how the image of the Hawaiian hula girl has been and continues to be appropriated, mis-re-presented and commodified.

Additionally, I have also departed from using the traditional notions of "chapters" to organize the spatial arrangement of this exhibit. Instead, I have decided to utilize the concept of galleries to represent chapters. These galleries are meant to function as cognitive maps\(^4^0\) to receive knowledge, awareness, understanding, recognition and comprehension. Therefore, each gallery within Kiʻi Pāpālua individually and collectively contributes to the creation of the "pāpālua," the second sight. In an effort to recover from the devastation of colonialism, Kānaka Maoli are engaged in the process of "re-writing and re-righting"\(^4^1\) ourselves. Each gallery becomes a space, a place to see and to seek out the opportunities to expand ʻike -- knowledge, awareness, understanding,

\(^{3^9}\) I am grateful to retired Political Science professor, Phyllis Turnbull, who helped me to understand the concept of a "spatial imaginary" as a kind of consciousness that affects my vision. A spatial imaginary that is reflective, an analytical gazing of space not as an "empty" or "filled" container but as something affected by or affecting me. See also: Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, Themes in the social sciences (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).


recognition, comprehension, perspective — to re-fresh the mind and de-colonize the Hawaiian hula girl image from its subjugation.

Ki‘i Pāpālua aims to locate the blurring of the boundaries between imagery and colonialism in Hawai‘i. Through a semiotic reading of images, photographs and advertisements of the Hawaiian hula girl — Ki‘i Pāpālua critically “makes the familiar strange.” Ki‘i Pāpālua teases out the imagery to construct a vision of second sight exposing the structures of colonialism and illustrates how it is concealed behind the imagery of the Hawaiian hula girl. I reclaim and engage in a Kanaka Maoli cultural practice of ha‘i mo‘olelo (story telling) used for generations by my kūpuna (elders). Mo‘olelo is the way our people archived our history, preserved and perpetuated our identity, and passed on our genealogy from our place where we stand in the world, from our locus of enunciation.

Therefore, Ki‘i Pāpālua is a counter-narrative told through Kanaka Maoli eyes

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42 See: Trask, From a Native Daughter: colonialism and sovereignty in Hawai‘i.


45 Ibid., 186.

about what I see in Hawai‘i and is juxtaposed against meta-narratives fueled by western hegemony about our people, our history, our culture and most importantly our identity.

I assume the role and responsibility of “a” Kanaka Maoli curator who cares for the collection of “mea no‘eau” (national treasures). Kanaka Maoli national treasures include language, people, identity, history, culture, mo‘olelo (story, storytelling), oli (chant), mele (song), hula, etc. This “kuleana” — right, responsibility, concern, privilege, authority — in this spatial imaginary is organized from carefully selected works found within the galleries of Ki‘i Pāpālua.

Mo‘olelo: Genealogy, Politics and History is the first of six galleries in this textual exhibit. It is the point where we launch in this spatial imaginary and the place where we examine and unpack the cultural practice of mo‘olelo (storytelling). It is through mo‘olelo that we locate the mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogy) that we belong to as Kānaka Maoli. It is also mo‘olelo that reveals the politics of hegemony that explains how we have inherited the dominant history that does not

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47 This term is presented in this manner to defuse the dominance and the political relationship it has had upon our people.

48 G. Terry Young, "Mea No‘eau," (University of Hawai‘i at Manoa. Unpublished manuscript, 1994).


50 Ibid., 285.

51 Ibid., 245.

52 Ibid., 179.
belong to us. It is moʻolelo that challenges the process and the politics of the "cultural bomb." The cultural bomb that permanently changed Hawai‘i and justified erasing the realities of our people to the colonizers.

The second gallery is entitled I Ka Nānā No A 'Ike: The Genre of Textualities. This gallery examines semiotic approaches employed within Kiʻi Pāpālua that have led to “making meaning” by utilizing various textures including photographs, images, and advertisements. Through approaches such as “Defamiliarization,” I “make the familiar strange” in order to disrupt and then explore the banal “vision of hegemony” that leads to the appropriation, mis-representation and continued commodification of the Hawaiian female image.

These approaches contribute to a critical reading of the hula girl image because they expose the intersecting and oppressive processes of race, class and gender in a particular and highly contested cultural space to reveal the dominant narratives

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54 Pukui, ‘Olelo No’eau: Hawaiian proverbs & poetical sayings, 129. One definition of this proverb says, “by observing, one learns.” I have chosen to title this gallery after this proverb because it is here that making meaning occurs as we engage in the genre of textualities.

55 A concept introduced by Russian formalist Victor Shklovsky. See: Kaomea, "Reading Erasures and Making the Familiar Strange: defamiliarizing methods for research in formerly colonized and historically oppressed communities."; Boym, "Poetics and Politics of Estrangement: Victor Shklovsky and Hannah Arendt."; Emerson, "Shklovsky's Ostranenie, Bakhtin's Vnenakhodimost' (how distance serves an aesthetics of arousal differently from an aesthetics based on pain)."

56 See: Lacey, Image and Representation: key concepts in media studies.
that construct the *hula girl* as the basis for a fictional, fantasy-driven culture.

*Makawalu: Ways of Seeing*[^57] is the name given to gallery three. I use this title as a way to talk about the concepts of “colonialism,” “orientalism,” and the colliding world views of western hegemony upon Kānaka Maoli.[^58] This space adopts the work of Edward Said and explores the application of *Orientalism*[^59] in Hawai‘i.

Gallery four is entitled *Ma Ka Hana Ka ‘Ike.*[^60] *Creating a Hawaiian Sense of Place.* This gallery creates a space for us to take a critical look at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and observe the cultural productions on campus. From *looking* in the bookstore window to *looking* carefully at the school’s “new and improved” mascot, I look for the actions and behaviors that support and demonstrate the University System’s commitment to honor, respect and preserve the host culture, the Kanaka Maoli culture.[^61]


[^60]: Pukui, ‘*Ōlelo No ‘eau: Hawaiian proverbs & poetical sayings*, 227. My understanding of this proverb revolves around the notion of understanding knowledge through the observation of one’s actions. Therefore, this gallery has been titled after this proverb as I critically observe the actions on the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa campus and the idea of creating a Hawaiian sense of place.

[^61]: University of Hawai‘i, "University of Hawai‘i System Strategic Plan: entering the university's second century, 2002-2010," ed. University of Hawai‘i system Office (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i, 2002).
Gallery five is entitled *Pupuhi Kukui Malino Ke Kai:* Looking at Looking in Hawai‘i. This gallery constructs a lineage of selected images that represent the process through which I have determined the themes and aspirations that led to the creation of this exhibit. In this space, readers are invited to explore. I engage them in “show and tell” by analyzing these images, and share critical assertions and questions that permeate through Ki‘i Pāpālua.

The sixth and final gallery is entitled *Ua Ao Hawai‘i Ke ‘Olino Nei Mālalama:* Re-writing and Re-righting Images. The thematic focus of “the past drawing on the present” takes center stage in this space. Inspired by Kanaka Maoli artists, this gallery features new visions of images and re-presentations of Kanaka Maoli identity and culture. These works deconstruct and resist the

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62 Pukui, ‘Olelo Noʻeau: Hawaiian proverbs & poetical sayings, 302. As an undergraduate student, I was privileged to visit with ‘anakala Eddie Kaanana, who was a mānaleo (native speaker) in the Hawaiian language program. On one of my visits, he shared traditional knowledge on the usefulness of the kukui kernel particularly when he went fishing as a young boy. After entering the water and arriving at his desired location, he would chew on a kernel of the kukui, and release it into the ocean. The interaction of the oil from the kernel with the salt water caused clear visibility making it easy to see then catch fish. Edward T. Kaanana, Personal Communication. University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, O‘ahu. Traditional uses of kukui. 1994. Reflecting on this story becomes significant to me as I apply it to the overall theme of this gallery which is meant to create clear visibility on “showing seeing” in Hawai‘i.

63 Pukui, ‘Olelo Noʻeau: Hawaiian proverbs & poetical sayings, 305. This adage says, “Hawai‘i is in an era of education.” This gallery has been appropriately titled after this proverb as Kānaka Maoli are truly understanding that education is the key to perpetuating ourselves and our lāhui (nation).

64 Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: research and indigenous peoples, 28.
colonized image(s) but, simultaneously, begin the arduous task of “re-claiming, re-construction and re-covery”\(^\text{65}\) back into our realities.

\[65\text{ My presentation of these words are meant to signify a political relationship to the struggle of independence for Kānaka Maoli. In doing so, I do not imply that the experiences of “re-claiming, re-construction and re-covery” are newly created experiences. Rather, these experiences were disrupted from the Kanaka Maoli world view as the result of colonialism.} \]
Gallery 1

Mo’olelo: Genealogy, Politics and History

I will tell you something about stories,
They aren’t just entertainment.
Don’t be fooled
They are all we have, you see,
All we have to fight off
Illness and death.

You don’t have anything
If you don’t have the stories.

Their evil is mighty
But it can’t stand up to our stories
So they try to destroy the stories
Let the stories be confused or forgotten
They would like that
They would be happy
Because we would be defenseless then. 66

The politics of storytelling is about power. It is also about identity, and looking critically at how those in power have crafted a lens -- a metaphor that might be thought of as the dominant ideology, dominant narrative, canonical knowledge, etc. -- to view the world. In fact, it is the power to re-create images of the “Other.” 67 The images imposed by those in power are then communicated via storytelling, and circulated to places throughout the world. This power called


67 In an effort to heighten the awareness of Kanaka Maoli recovery from the devastation of colonialism, I capitalize the term “Other” throughout this exhibit. There is a distinct political relationship signifying dominance and domination located in the use of lower case “o” versus capital “O.” Historically, Kānaka Maoli have been referred throughout western history as “other.” By referencing Kānaka Maoli as “Other” in this exhibit, I re-claim, re-store and thereby re-turn the power that values, respects and honors the identity of our people.
“imperialism" and colonialism brought complete disorder to colonized peoples [the "Other"], disconnecting them from their histories, their landscapes, their languages, their social relations and their own ways of thinking, feeling and interacting with the world." This disconnection is best described by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, as the “cultural bomb." His story teaches us about the importance of valuing one’s Native language. Ngũgĩ shares his own lived experiences of being raised in his Native language, Gĩkũyũ, and the special power of the stories told to him during his childhood.

[The language had a] suggestive power well beyond the immediate and lexical meaning...the suggestive magical power of language was reinforced by the games we played with words through riddles, proverbs, transpositions of syllables, or through nonsensical but musically arranged words...so we learnt the music of our language on top of

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68 “A total system of foreign power where another culture, people and way of life penetrate, transform, and come to define the colonized society. The function and purpose of imperialism is exploitation of the colony. Using this definition, Hawai‘i is a colony of the United States of America.” Haunani-Kay Trask and University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. Center for Hawaiian Studies, "Typology on Racism and Imperialism," in From a Native Daughter: colonialism and sovereignty in Hawai‘i (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999. 251-252).

69 “Behaviors, ideologies and economies which enforce the exploitation of Native people in the colonies.” Ibid.


72 Kenyan novelist and theorist of post-colonial literature.

73 wa Thiong’o, Decolonising the Mind: the politics of language in African literature, 3.
the content...the language, through images and symbols, gave us a view of the world but it had a beauty of its own.\textsuperscript{74}

According to Ngũgĩ, “language, any language has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of a culture.”\textsuperscript{75} The storytelling events of his childhood were a lifeline -- a connection that taught and grounded him to his culture and identity.\textsuperscript{76}

Language as communication and as culture are then products of each other. Communication creates culture: culture is a means of communication. Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world.\textsuperscript{77}

However “imperialism” and “colonialism” invade Africa, and when Ngũgĩ enters school he says, “the language of my education was no longer the language of my culture...English became the language of my formal education.”\textsuperscript{78} To ensure that English was continuously spoken, surveillance strategies were employed and strict policies were enforced. Any violators who continued to speak in the mother tongue were humiliated and punished.\textsuperscript{79} Punishment for violators included

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 10.

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 13.

\textsuperscript{76} Ibid. “The association of a child’s sensibility is with the language of his experience of life.”

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid., 15-16.

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., 11.

\textsuperscript{79} One way “dominance” enacts its willfulness as power is through methods such as surveillance, prohibition and punishment. See: Michel Foucault, \textit{Discipline and Punish}: 20
“corporal punishment – three to five strokes of the cane on bare buttocks – or [carrying] a metal plate around the neck with inscriptions such as ‘I AM STUPID’ or ‘I AM A DONKEY.’”\textsuperscript{80}

Slowly over time, these collective actions become seeds of self-doubt and plant themselves in the mind of the colonized resulting in what Ngũgĩ calls a “cultural bomb.”\textsuperscript{81} An “annihilation of a people’s belief in their names, in their language, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves.”\textsuperscript{82} The damage caused by this process is so psychologically severe that eventually the cultural markers are stripped from the colonized and they assimilate to that of the colonizers. They no longer see themselves as ever being indigenous.

The visual rendering of this process is like a “white wash” with Clorox bleach. I imagine Kānaka Maoli to be like a beautiful piece of kapa (bark cloth)\textsuperscript{83} made from the finest of all wauke (paper mulberry, broussonetia papyrifera)\textsuperscript{84} or māmaki (pipturus)\textsuperscript{85} trees. In the making of this kapa, we used intricate

\textsuperscript{80} wa Thiong’o, \textit{Decolonising the Mind: the politics of language in African literature}, 11.
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., 3.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., 382.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., 234.
watermarks, colorful dyes\textsuperscript{86} and unique geometric designs and patterns. Now, imagine that we have been forced to immerse that beautiful piece of kapa into bleach. After soaking it for a while, the color and geometric designs will disintegrate. The longer the kapa is soaked in bleach, the greater the opportunity to compromise its texture resulting in the removal of the watermark. A puka (hole)\textsuperscript{87} may begin to appear or the total obliteration of the kapa — devoured by the powerful chemical.\textsuperscript{88} The cultural bomb is metaphorically equivocal to the bleach; it stripped our people from the intricate watermarks (mind/intellect), beautiful color (culture) and geometric designs (spiritual)\textsuperscript{89} that made us unique and special as Kānaka Maoli.\textsuperscript{90} The cultural bomb left the fiber of our people physically and

\textsuperscript{86} Dyes made from Native plants like kukui (candlenut) and ‘ōlina (curcuma domestica). For details see: Isabella Aiona Abbott, La‘au Hawai‘i: traditional Hawaiian uses of plants (Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 3.


\textsuperscript{88} Active ingredient sodium hypochlorite. According to its label, “KEEP OUT OF THE REACH OF CHILDREN. DANGER: CORROSIVE. May cause severe irritation or damage to eyes and skin. Harmful if swallowed. Protect eyes when handling. For prolonged use, wear gloves. Wash after contact with product. Avoid breathing vapors and use only in a well-ventilated area. Physical or Chemical hazards: Product contains a strong oxidizer. Always flush drains before and after use. Prolonged use may cause pitting or discoloration.”

\textsuperscript{89} The kapa, watermarks, color and geometric designs are elements that make Kanaka Maoli kapa unique. Kanaka Maoli kapa was noted to be the finest and most beautiful in all of Polynesia. For details see: Kamehameha Schools, Ancient Hawaiian Civilization: a series of lectures delivered at the Kamehameha Schools, Rev. ed. (Rutland, Vt.: C. E. Tuttle Co., 1965). Master Kanaka Maoli kapa makers — Hāli‘imaile Andrade, Kawai Aona-Ueoka, Puanani Van Dorpe.

\textsuperscript{90} I use these elements as metaphors to reinforce the Triangulation of Meaning. The kapa represents the body of Kānaka Maoli. The watermarks represent our mind/intellect. The color represents our culture and the geometric designs represent our spirituality. These
psychologically altered to the point of near obliteration.91

Ngūgi's story is important for Kānaka Maoli because it mirrors the history of our 'ōlelo makuahine (mother tongue)92 and the realities of our people. For Kānaka Maoli, the impact of colonization has denied us access to control our own images and the stories that have shaped our realities, leaving us to struggle for our right to self-determination, a right that embraces our language, culture, traditions and spirituality.93 What has been said about Kānaka Maoli and how we have been

metaphors are used to represent the profound and intricate relationship of mind, body and spirit inherent in Kānaka Maoli. I emphasize this point because western culture ignores the value of these relationships. Instead, western culture sees each of these elements as separate entities, devoid of any interconnection or relationship. For details see: Meyer and Meyer, Ho 'ōulu: our time of becoming: collected early writings of Manulani Meyer; Manulani Meyer, "Hawaiian Epistemology and the Triangulation of Meaning," in Relations Indigenous Dialogue, ed. Joseph M. and John R. Grimes Sanchez (Santa Fe, NM: Institute of Indian Arts Museum, 2006), 199-227. I am also reminded of the wisdom shared by Elizabeth Kapu'uwailani Lindsey who says, "a native mind will tell you it is all interconnected. The only way you can see a whole picture is to look at it holistically and not separate it out." Elizabeth Kapu‘uwailani Lindsey, "The Hour of Remembering," Hālili 3 (2006): 12.

91 The psychological, emotional and spiritual trauma is our greatest tragedy. For a discussion see: Lindsey, "The Hour of Remembering."; Jon Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, Dismembering Lāhui: a history of the Hawaiian nation to 1887 (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002).


93 Apio, "1,000 Little Paper Cuts to Genocide: Hawaiian culture is being slowly bled to death."; Kameʻelehiwa, Native Land and Foreign Desires: how shall we live in harmony? Ko Hawai‘i ‘Āina a me Nā Koi Pu‘umake a ka Po‘e Haole: pehe a lā e pono ai; Liliuokalani, Hawai‘i’s Story by Hawai‘i’s Queen; Meyer and Meyer, Ho ‘ōulu: our time of becoming: collected early writings of Manulani Meyer; Osorio, "What Kine Hawaiian are You? A mo‘olelo about nationhood, race, history and the contemporary sovereignty movement."; Silva, Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian resistance to American colonialism; Trask, From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i; Warner, "Kuleana: the right, responsibility and authority of indigenous peoples to speak and make decisions for themselves in language and cultural revitalization," 68-93.
re-presented in the world has largely been through the narrative of western discourse. The discourse is a meta-narrative fueled by western hegemony. A history that repeats its telling in books throughout the world. It is the dominant history, the colonizers history of the peoples and cultures of the Pacific. A history written in the language that permanently erased the mo‘olelo (stories) and severed the lifeline that connected us to our identity, our culture and our worldview. This erasure disrupted the Triangulation of Meaning found in the detailed relationships archived in the Kumulipo that explains our existence in the world. This version of the master narrative of dominant history rendered us, a people without a history. Therefore in order to recover from our experiences of colonization Kānaka Maoli,

want to tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, for our own purposes. It is not simply about giving an oral account or a genealogical naming of the land and the events which raged over it, but a very powerful need to give testimony to and restore a spirit, to bring back into existence a world fragmented and dying. The sense of history conveyed by these approaches is not the same thing as the discipline of history, and so our accounts collide, crash into each other.  

Understanding the politics of storytelling provides the ability to further know indigenous peoples, who come from diverse backgrounds and cultures.

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95 Smith, Decolonizing methodologies: research and indigenous peoples, 28.

96 Haunani-Kay Trask, "Cultures in Collision: Hawai‘i and England, 1778," Pacific
While some folks gather to tell stories as a profession, others engage in this act as a means to practice skill and hone technique.\textsuperscript{97} Kānaka Maoli, who descend from an oral tradition, tell our stories as a tool to preserve and perpetuate, to archive our “mea no‘eau,” our -- national treasures which include: “base culture aspects -- daily life style, value and personality of a people; aesthetic culture -- ceremonies, philosophy and literature, stories, sayings, and traditional customs.”\textsuperscript{98}

Mo’olelo (storytelling) was how our people expressed our ideas and thoughts of our identity, culture, religion, politics, history, etc. It is the means that transferred this information from one generation to the next. Therefore, it became the archival method used to record the existence of Kānaka Maoli into this world as told in the \textit{Kumulipo}.\textsuperscript{99} This cosmogonic chant is a fine example of mo‘olelo that explains our origins as Kānaka Maoli. It identifies our relationships to the environment, our human relationships with nature as well as our human relationships with each other. Through it, Kānaka Maoli have a record of our


moʻokūʻauhau (genealogy), from the tiniest coral polyp, to celestial beings in the heavens, to our spiritual entities -- the Akua (gods, deity), to our aliʻi (chiefs) and to each other as kanaka (human being, man, person, mankind, population). The Kumulipo, itself, is a highly organized chronicle that spans over 16 distinct wā (epoch, era, time periods) which detail the symbiotic relationships within the Kanaka Maoli worldview. It is as Trinh T. Minh-ha says, "Story, history, literature -- (religion, philosophy, natural science, ethics) -- all in one."

Moʻolelo is also the means by which we preserved and protected our social memory. Through the Kumulipo, Kānaka Maoli make meaning and foster understanding which preserves and perpetuates our memory. Each wā provides an introduction to the life forms and mark the development of the Kanaka Maoli

101 Like Makaliʻi, also known as the Pleiades.
103 Ibid., 20.
104 Ibid., 127.
105 Ibid., 375.
107 See: Connerton, How Societies Remember.
worldview. From small life forms, it moves toward larger forms -- from the heavens through the land and sea. For example, in the 13th wā these gods include: Papahānaumoku, our earth mother who gives birth to islands; Wākea, our sky father. It continues with their human daughter Hoʻohokūkalani, the mother of Hāloanaokālaukapalili, the first kalo plant and his younger sibling Hāloa, the first aliʻi nui (high chief) and ancestor to all Kānaka Maoli. We are reminded of our kuleana (responsibility) to “mālama ʻāina” (take care of the land) because the land is an integral part of our family. Therefore we protect and nurture them as we would any other family member. In return, the land reciprocates by becoming prosperous and fertile to care for us.

In the Storyteller’s Journey: an American revival, artisans, with a shared sense of mission to revitalize individuals and a culture as a whole, engage in the act of their trade by holding festivals much like conferences to celebrate their art form. Their practice of storytelling differs from that of Kānaka Maoli. In the text, the author, Joseph Sobol, unveils that the artisan is paid to tell stories. Sobol mentions groups like the National Storytelling Association, and the National Association for the Preservation and the Perpetuation of Storytelling. These

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108 Like the coral polyp in the ocean to its companion on land, small trees.

109 Ocean fish and the trees on the land.


111 Ibid., 232.

international organizations invite individuals to be members with a required fee. Membership benefits include opportunities to be listed in a directory, advertise professional fees, and participate in storytelling events and festivals.

The community from which I come from performs storytelling for different reasons than those presented in Sobol’s text. Storytelling from our perspective is conducted as a means of survival. It is how our people managed the realities of our existence, our culture, and our history. From our community, the haʻimoʻolelo (storyteller) is thought of as a person of power. This position is also accompanied with tremendous kuleana (right, responsibility and authority) because “the storyteller is the living memory of her time, her people.” For Kānaka Maoli, the storyteller does not receive any monetary compensation. They gain mana (power) and earn valued respect from our community by celebrating the enjoyment of “an immense [communal] gift that thousands of people benefit from each past or present life being lived.”

Returning to the idea of viewing the world from a specific perspective or through a particular lens allows for a discussion about the politics of telling stories. We look to the Kumulipo. Rubellite Kawena Johnson, noted Kanaka Maoli scholar, states:

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113 See: Trinh, Woman, Native, Other: writing postcoloniality and feminism, 126.
114 Ibid., 125.
115 Ibid., 119.
It attracted scientific attention in the nineteenth-century Europe due to its rudimentary concept of evolution. Evolution as a theory of the biological origin of man had become the object\textsuperscript{116} of intense skepticism after the appearance of Charles Darwin's authority-shattering study, \textit{The Origin of Species By Means of Natural Selection} in 1859. The possession of a similar concept of evolution by a Neolithic people such as the Hawaiians with neither a system of writing nor an inductive method of scientific inquiry was a matter uniquely pertinent to the ensuing rivalry between science and theology over the soundness of church doctrine established on the Biblical account of creation in Genesis. The Kumulipo did not take Europe by storm, as did the controversy that men may be descended from or closely related to apes, but those who were observers of the struggle encountered by Darwinian theory with church resistance were intrigued by Polynesian concepts that were the exception to the prevailing mystical notion of Divine Cause as the source of all life upon earth. The Kumulipo suggested not only that life evolved of itself upon the earth but also that the visible universe had been set into motion by the heating surfaces of celestial bodies. The rotation of the heavens could then be the means by which time could be measured and thereby the orderly structure of the universe understood.\textsuperscript{117}

Johnson's description of the \textit{Kumulipo} offers a glimpse into the kind of storytelling that is conducted by our community. Her description also discerns a bit of skepticism it received as authored by a people without a writing system or method of scientific claim.

Today, some people still consider the \textit{Kumulipo} to be merely a myth. However, for the community of people from which I come, our thoughts on this subject are best expressed in a statement made by Carl F. K. Pao, Jr., a Kanaka

\textsuperscript{116} Emphasis added.

\textsuperscript{117} Johnson, \textit{Kumulipo, the Hawaiian hymn of creation}, i.
Maoli artist

[The Kumulipo is] A source of identity and pride for all Hawaiians, the Kumulipo is a genealogical chant that links us to the land, the ancestors, one another and Polynesians across the Pacific...[The Kumulipo] should be understood as history, not ‘myth.’ This is the way we represent or tell our history. It’s not make-believe. Because our history is poetic doesn’t invalidate the truth behind it.118

Storytelling acts like a vessel that holds our experiences in the creation of place memory.119 For Kānaka Maoli, our storytelling sometimes takes the form of mele (song), oli (chant) and hula (dance). There are numerous mele, oli and hula honoring our wahi pana (legendary place)120 and ali‘i which become the foundation of place memory for us. It is precisely through mele, oli and hula that we are able to “re-enter, re-visit, and re-live”121 our particular place. Similar to “other indigenous peoples across the world, we have other stories to tell which not only question the assumed nature of those ideals and the practices that they generate, but also serve to tell an alternative story.”122 Mo‘olelo then offers


121 The hyphenated spelling of these words are purposely marked to show a distinct difference of a “nostalgic” remembrance due to loss or destruction.

counter stories of Kānaka Maoli, our people, our language, our history and our identity.

The politics of storytelling is quite generalized by western discourse about the “Other.” A process whereby,

[the] collective memory of imperialism has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to those who have been colonized. [It is a process] supported by institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines and even bureaucracies and colonial styles.

The way we as indigenous peoples have been re-presented in history becomes imperative because the work in academic circulation has largely been carried out by non-indigenous scholars. It lacks or limits the ability to present an indigenous point of view. An indigenous point of view allows Kānaka Maoli to address issues of recovery that include the voices of women. These are two elements of research that are not valued in western discourse. For this reason, I believe we, as Kānaka Maoli, must conduct research from our own locus of enunciation. Kanaka Maoli historian, Jonathan Osorio, encourages us to tell our own moʻolelo because, even the best-intentioned nonnative scholars can tell us little beyond how they perceive us. To have others learn our language—better than we know it—and master our arts and sciences is flattering and important. But others cannot tell us who we are. We will always mediate and often contradict

123 See: Said, Orientalism.

124 Smith, Decolonizing methodologies: research and indigenous peoples, 1.
their findings with what we know and what we feel...[Because] identity is no small issue for us.\textsuperscript{125}

When I hear/read these words, I am reminded of the centuries of colonization that have “othered” our people. Such stories re-created by non-indigenous people came to dominate and subjugate our ancestors. And still today, we continue to encounter those who want to inflict those behaviors. We will no longer tolerate this treatment and are beginning to tell our own stories about managing the realities of our existence.

Storytelling has the power to bring us together. And as indigenous peoples, we discover many salient themes shared in the politics of storytelling. However, we must also acknowledge the diversity which exists amongst us. Our colonizers were not all the same. I emphasize this point because the west has often lumped us into one category, “other.” This particular category disallows reflection into the importance of our diversities. Later, I will revisit this topic of the diversity of colonization amongst the peoples of Oceania.\textsuperscript{126}

Moana Jackson, Maori activist/attorney, reminds us that, “one of the tragedies of the process which we call colonization is that we have been taught to accentuate the differences between us and to forget the long, long history of our

\textsuperscript{125} Osorio, "What Kine Hawaiian are You? A mo‘olelo about nationhood, race, history and the contemporary sovereignty movement," 376.

\textsuperscript{126} Hau‘ofa, Epeli et al., A New Oceania: rediscovering our sea of islands (Suva, Fiji: School of Social and Economic Development, The University of the South Pacific in association with Beake House, 1993).
relations [as indigenous peoples].”¹²⁷ Rather than repeating the actions of our colonizers, the best course of action we can take, to further understand and celebrate our diversity as indigenous peoples is to place ourselves appropriately in time and history,¹²⁸ so that “every gesture, every word involves our past, present and future.”¹²⁹ Kanaka Maoli scholar, Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa helps us to understand our perspective of time and history:

the past is referred to as Ka wā mamua, or “the time in front or before.” Whereas the future, when thought of at all, is Ka wā mahope, or “the time which comes after or behind.” It is as if the Hawaiian stands firmly in the present, with his back to the future, and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present-day dilemmas. Such an orientation is to the Hawaiian an eminently practical one, for the future is always unknown, whereas the past is rich in glory and knowledge. It also bestows upon us a natural propensity for the study of history.¹³⁰

It is the deliberate imaging of hula through which the world makes its connection to Hawai‘i. Countless stories have been told about hula to re-create an idealizing trope of Hawai‘i and the Hawaiian hula girl that resides in an Edenic paradise, a playground in an exotic spatial imaginary of the Pacific. Much of what became known to the world about hula and the hula girl was established through

¹²⁷ Jackson, "Identity, Reality and Eating M & M's."


¹²⁹ Trinh, Woman, Native, Other: writing postcoloniality and feminism, 122.

¹³⁰ Kame‘eleihiwa, Native Land and Foreign Desires: how shall we live in harmony? Ko Hawai‘i ‘Āina a me Nā Koi Pū‘umake a ka Po‘e Haole: pehea lä e pono ai?, 22.
storytelling and image making by non-Kānaka Maoli in power. Later these stories and images became “factual events” and were published as “history.” It is important to remember that,

history is also about power. In fact history is mostly about power. It is the story of the powerful and how they became powerful, and then how they use their power to keep them in positions in which they can dominate others. It is because of this relationship with power that we have been excluded, marginalized and ‘Othered.’

The stories which claimed the history of our people and culture became an imposed reality of our identity. Non-Kanaka Maoli storytellers turned historians could not understand the connection of hula to our people. This position of power/telling then relegated hula to be a pagan dance of a primitive people. As such, the spiritual narrative connecting hula to indigenous peoples was silenced and erased from Kanaka Maoli history.

For non-indigenous cultures, hula is understood as a commodity, an identity that can be purchased, or worn like an accessory to an outfit. It is a fad that is hip, cool and fresh like the flavor of the month that rotates with time. Moana Jackson suggests this is not our reality. It is, “the reality of colonization which has sought and still seeks to destroy it, define it, re-conceptualize it to fit within a paradigm

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132 Jackson, "Identity, Reality and Eating M & M's."
which is not ours." Through Jackson’s statement, we then understand how those in power use it [power] like a tool to dominate and subjugate those they wish to control.

Michael Brown’s text *Who Owns Native Cultures?* scrutinizes the ownership of stories and dance. When I first came across the title of this book, my immediate response was “Duh, hello, no one person, [one individual] owns native culture.” And to be honest, I had my reservations about reading it. I thought to myself, “here we go again, another non-indigenous author telling stories about indigenous peoples.” Further I thought, “What kind of book is this? Indigenous peoples do not own their cultures! They belong to it.” However, I reluctantly proceeded and was quite surprised to find that this author really did have something valuable to offer.

Most striking are Brown’s in-depth understandings of diversity among indigenous cultures as compared to the west. Using case studies from various Native American tribes, Brown reveals what happens when western culture steps in to solve indigenous situations. Brown’s presentation illustrates how western culture leans toward a monolithic view on making decisions especially when it concerns indigenous peoples. Often times, what is perceived as a remedy to cultural situations turns into a toxic recipe resulting in the colliding of two worlds:

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133 Ibid.

demonstrating that the “one-size-fits-all” approach is not appropriate and does not work in situations with indigenous peoples.

Through the application of these Native American case studies, Brown also shows the diversity that exists among various groups and their cultures. This approach enables an understanding of the diversity within each tribe. He explains why western culture cannot view indigenous peoples from a monolithic lens. It becomes important to pinpoint why monolithic western remedies become problematic for indigenous peoples.

Our philosophy of being in the world is a communal orientation and not an individual perspective.\textsuperscript{135} I mentioned this earlier, regarding indigenous storytellers not gaining any individual benefit [compensation] but rather celebrating in the enjoyment of “an immense gift that thousands of people benefit from each past present life being lived.”\textsuperscript{136} This practice exemplifies a communal orientation to the world by indigenous peoples.

The same can be said of hula. Hula is something that belongs to Kānaka Maoli. No one person or individual owns hula. Period. It belongs to our culture, our people and therefore we, mālama (take care of) hula together as a collective body of Kānaka. In contemporary time, there are some individuals from our community who have chosen to disregard our philosophy of our existence and

\textsuperscript{135} See: Trask, "Cultures in Collision: Hawai‘i and England, 1778."

\textsuperscript{136} Trinh, \textit{Woman, Native, Other: writing postcoloniality and feminism}, 125.
promote different ideas about being in the world. One example is Mark Keli‘iho‘omalau, a Kanaka Maoli, who resides in California. He is the individual who participated as one of several “cultural consultants” for the movie *Lilo and Stitch*. His behavior and actions to make money by capitalizing on our culture sparked a huge controversy within the hula community. This lead to critical conversations within the hula community regarding our culture and the treatment of hula. This issue still has not been resolved, but it provided an opportunity for Kānaka Maoli to engage in thoughtful discussions about how we exist in the world and with each other.

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137 Revered Kanaka Maoli researcher and scholar Kihei de Silva shares concerns regarding Disney’s *Lilo and Stitch*. His concerns include the cultural appropriation and mis-re-presentation of a 130-year old name chant for our beloved monarchs which turns into a new stylized hip-hop form of hula. For details see: Kihei de Silva, "Stitch has a Glitch," (2005), http://hccp.ksbe.edu/recipe&reviews/liloandglitch.php.

138 Ka‘iwakīloulomoku, "The Impact of Competitions and Entertainment on Traditional Hula," (Performing Arts Center of the Kamehameha Schools: Kamehameha Schools, Kapālama, 2005). The symposium panel of kumu hula included: Aunty Pat Bacon, Uncle George Holokai, Noenoe Zuttermeister Lewis, Aunty Edith McKinzie, and Nathan Napoka. Their discussions included concerns raised by de Silva about the cultural appropriation of hula through modes of entertainment like *Lilo and Stitch*. 

37
Gallery 2
I Ka Nānā Nō A ‘Ike: The Genre of Textualities

*Mythologies* illustrates [sic] the beautiful generosity of Barthes's progressive interest in the meaning (his word is signification) of practically everything around him, not only the books and paintings of high art, but also the slogans, trivia, toys, food, and popular rituals (cruises, striptease, eating, wrestling matches) of contemporary life... For Barthes, words and objects have in common the organized capacity to say something; at the same time, since they are signs, words and objects have the bad faith always to appear natural to their consumer, as if what they say is eternal, true, necessary, instead of arbitrary, made, contingent. *Mythologies* find Barthes revealing the fashioned systems of ideas that make it possible, for example, for 'Einstein's brain' to stand for, be the myth of, 'a genius so lacking in magic that one speaks about his thought as a functional labor analogous to the mechanical making of sausages.' Each of the little essays in this book wrenches a definition out of a common but constructed object, making the object speak its hidden, but ever-so-present, reservoir of manufactured sense. -- Edward W. Said

Hawai‘i's reputation as a “destination paradise” depends partly on an overwhelming proliferation of the *Hawaiian hula girl* image. The dense concentration of *Hawaiian hula girl* images itself becomes a signifier for Hawai‘i. To understand the dynamics of this process, I examine the constructs that objectify the identity of Kanaka Maoli women as the *hula girl*.

A semiotic reading provides a path to decipher the imaging of Kanaka Maoli women as the *hula girl*. Semiotics endorses a method of communication without words. Communication occurs through signs, codes, sounds, symbols or

other images. For example, each time a picture is taken -- an image is reproduced. The image transmits a message. The message communicates a particular language and meaning for the viewers/readers, according to their *knowledge*. In retrospect, the process of image making can be recognized as a form of communication because “taking a picture is, after all, writing with light.”

The application of this process informs and establishes a stepping stone for critical analysis. The *hula girl* images provoke meanings within the following contexts: time, history, culture, stereotype, gender, body language (facial expressions), body type, style, ideology of posing and sitting, and use of color.

Moreover, by employing semiotics I can *read* meaning from the images not just through one context but in relationship to other broader systems of meaning. This particular vantage point unveils a multiplicity of political codes and narratives re-created within the patriarchal structures of colonialism imposed upon Kānaka Maoli. Further, this reading of the *hula girl* image exposes the intersecting oppressive processes of race, class and gender in a particular and highly contested cultural space.

This perspective is important in understanding why Kānaka Maoli, especially Kanaka Maoli women’s identity, has been constructed. It further leads to understanding how this process of constructing images is about power and

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control. A form of control that does not enable indigenous peoples to control or even to inhabit the images that portray them.

A semiotic reading of images as a means of production becomes useful in unveiling the continuum of re-enactments conducive to re-presentation; these re-enactments serve to critically revitalize the imperialist and colonizing historical narrative of power through configurations of desire and fantasies of seduction.

Through these images, I locate and analyze the narratives that construct the hula girl as the basis for a fictional, fantasy-driven culture. Here, the female body itself emerges as a site of contestation, “where sexuality becomes the metaphoric ‘Other’ that threatens to overtake, consume, transform via the experience of pleasure.”141 I explore how these images help to sustain and preserve the colonial discourse that has constructed the hula girl image and controls the history we have inherited about ourselves from the colonizer.

I further examine how Kanaka Maoli women become the desired objects of the colonizing, imperial gaze. I also examine the signs and codes that aid in the organization of the gaze and the norms of attention that exist in the production of our relationship to this image. As desired objects of the colonizing/imperial gaze, I explore the narrative of nostalgia. Susan Stewart explains, “Nostalgia is a sadness without an object, a sadness which creates a longing...[for] a past it seeks that has never existed except as narrative, always absent, that past continually

141 bell hooks, Black Looks: race and representation (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1992), 22.
threatens to reproduce itself." In the context of the primitive, bell hooks talks about the narrative of imperialist nostalgia and says,

nostalgia, often found under imperialism [is] where people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed. A process of yearning for what one has destroyed that is a form of mystification which obscures contemporary cultural strategies deployed not to mourn but to celebrate the sense of a continuum of 'primitivism.'

hooks’ thoughts aid in understanding how Kanaka Maoli women have been appropriated as part of the colonial establishment as helpless “primitive creatures” in nature.

This narrative of nostalgia and the hula girl image can be located in films like Donovan’s Reef, South Pacific, Blue Hawaii, Waikiki Wedding, Bird of Paradise and many others. Through a state of longing induced by the carefully constructed, composed, choreographed, crafted images of the hula girl,

142 Susan Stewart, On Longing: narratives of the miniature, the gigantic, the souvenir, the collection (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 23.

143 hooks, Black Looks: race and representation, 25.


145 Joshua Logan, "South Pacific," (USA: 170 minutes, Magna/Enterprises, 1958, Film).


147 Frank Tuttle, "Waikiki Wedding," (Hollywood, CA: 89 minutes, Paramount Pictures, 1932, Film).

148 King Vidor, "Bird of Paradise," (USA: 82 minutes, RKO Radio Pictures, 1932, Film).
we are invited to return to a previous epoch that popularized this image. This serves as an example of how mass culture and imperialist nostalgia can mobilize and function together at a moment’s notice to re-enact and rationalize the imperialist, colonizing actions of the past.

Renato Rosaldo explains, “Imperialist nostalgia uses a pose of innocent yearning both to capture people’s imaginations and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination.”149 Hollywood re-casts these images as narrative, as fantasies of power and desire, of seduction about the ‘Other’ inviting the viewer to forget, that is, to engage in the willful forgetfulness of the forced colonization of Hawai‘i. These films contribute toward blurring reality so that we forget about the unjustifiable taking of the land, resources and Hawai‘i’s people.

Examining these images through the lens of time as configured by history can be very productive. By doing so, history tells us about events that were occurring in Hawai‘i in relation to the world. For example, through history we know that European explorers came to the Pacific. Their arrival undoubtedly played a significant role in constructing images of Kānaka Maoli as primitive. But, most importantly, they participated in the colonizing narrative that has re-created the image of our women as sexual beings in nature.150

149 Renato Rosaldo, Culture & Truth: the remaking of social analysis (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 70.

In “European Vision and the South Pacific,” Bernard Smith provides in great detail the information gathered from explorers’ journeys. As part of the landscape in Hawai‘i, Kānaka Maoli became “collected data” and were shackled to the historical documentation of European exploration and expansion missions in the Pacific. The information and illustrations gathered from these voyages returned with them to Europe. Later their findings in the Pacific were catalogued, printed in books, and exchanged as knowledge, and legitimized as history.

Placing images in the context of time supplies meaning in the construction of the hula girl. A collection of photographs from various archives provide an interesting point to launch an examination. These images of Kanaka Maoli women were produced around the late 1800’s through early 1900’s. In some of these photographic collections, Kanaka Maoli women are captured wearing dried grass skirts, lei and other floral adornments over clothes. Other photographs suggestively parade their bare breasts, transmitting a very different message — a narrative or an illusion to spark “desire.” This brief analysis denotes how attire as a sign, is able to change the meaning of images.


Another meaning of time in the analysis of images is offered by John Berger,

These images belong to a specific moment, in the sense that they must be continually renewed and made up-to-date. Yet they never speak of the present. Often, they refer to the past. And always they speak of the future. The fact that these images belong to a specific moment but speak of the future produces a strange effect that has become so familiar that we scarcely notice it.154

A continuum of image techniques and choreographed poses are reiterated to re-instate and re-vive the colonizer’s image of the hula girl and in so doing, their inner “experience” of her as an object.

The archived hula girl images of the late 1800’s through early 1900’s work together and separately to re-create meanings of Hawai‘i. In essence, both assist in an idealizing trope. The work of Toni Morrison155 becomes useful in understanding how tropes are constructed through the literary world. Against the backdrop of an Edenic paradise, images of Kānaka Maoli “remain childlike, simple and innocent,”156 where everyday life consists of fishing, gathering coconuts, bananas, feasting, dancing and lovemaking. Morrison’s work allows an


examination of this idealizing trope that Kanaka Maoli identity, and particularly that of Kanaka Maoli women has been constructed.

There is a distinct difference in the circulation of these images that need to be analyzed. Photographs of clothed hula girls commonly appeared in a host of media advertisements, tourist brochures, National Geographic magazines and travel films. Other photographs assisted in the construction of a colonizing narrative of history that continues to portray Kanaka Maoli women as Hawaiian hula girl— half-clothed, primitive maidens that reside in the exotic spatial imaginary of paradise.

Promiscuous or sexually free, it is in these photographs that the body of Kanaka Maoli women emerge as a site of contestation. The hula girl is constructed as “the metaphoric ‘Other’ who threatens to overtake, consume and transform via the experience of pleasure.” In distorting the image of Kanaka Maoli women, these re-presentations have been used to reinforce and sustain a colonizing narrative that we have inherited about ourselves, an imposed reality of identity. This narrative reflects a very destructive hegemonic dynamic that quietly conceals powerful messages to dominate and subjugate; one that re-enacts and re-vitalizes the imperialist and colonizing historical narrative of power through configurations of desire and fantasies of seduction.

More meaning can be made by examining the context of the photographs themselves. For example, the use of floral adornments and the wearing of dried

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grass skirts in an in-door studio with a painted “tropical” or natural outdoor setting as a backdrop re-creates these women as “half-clothed primitive maidens.” Combined, these elements work together in the means of production that sustain the Eden-like trope of Hawai‘i and the constructed image of the hula girl.

I will analyze these images to explore and decipher messages within the context of our culture. For example, in several photographs of Kanaka Maoli women sitting on pahu (shark-skin covered drums), I find it particularly strange and deeply obscene that the pahu is minimalized as a prop. In our culture, pahu are kapu (sacred), imbibed with mana (power), and find their origins in ho‘omana kahiko (traditional Kanaka Maoli religion). Such derogatory treatment incites a specific message that angers me. It provokes questions regarding cultural representation, protocol and acts of violence. The violence lingers due to the degradation of what is culturally sacred. This point is what Barthes refers to as the element of “punctum” within photography, “a sting, a cut...which pricks me (but also bruises me, is poignant to me).” From a Kanaka Maoli perspective, it can be read as a prostitution by the photographer a.k.a. ‘pimp’ who holds authorial power over Kanaka Maoli women and our scared treasures.

Another puzzling aspect of these photographs is the fact that they were


160 Ibid.
taken around the late 1800’s through early 1900’s. Why would these women expose their breasts during a time period when Kanaka Maoli women clearly did not dress in that manner? By this time, the colonizing efforts of the missionaries were well established in re-producing Hawai‘i as a “civilized” society. These images provoke questions as to who is behind the camera, and what is happening beyond the frames of the image.

It is important to have a working knowledge of the process that constructs these images. Later, I will illustrate how these images continue to be re-made, re-presented and reiterated through contemporary images in the form of advertisements. By analyzing such advertisements, I will explain how powerful these images are, and how that power is designed to entice people into purchasing various commodities.

The selective body language and posturing in these images can provide meaning, which elicits how boundaries are crafted within photographs. It is through Barthes’ notion of “studium” that I make meaningful the facial expressions of these women who appear to be scripted as bare, empty and without life. Even when there is direct looking at the camera, I wonder if the women were compelled to do so. From a previous analysis of attire worn by these women, we can gain further meaning in understanding how these elements act in complement with the floral adornments to create the illusion that they are creatures of nature,
while remaining the *objects* of the gaze within the walls of the confined in-door studio.

Another interesting occurrence of body language can consistently be found in images, especially when two or more female bodies are touching. I call attention to this technique which supports the white-male fantasy in creating a link that strongly suggests these women share something, perhaps they resemble each other or they are one and the same -- helpless creatures in nature, awaiting to please.

An analysis of body types in the images may provide meaning in understanding how indigenous peoples are erased from history and then re-placed with imposed identities. In several historical images, the body of Kanaka Maoli women appear to be more full-figured with tan/brown skin. However contemporary advertisements depict Kanaka Maoli women as having idealized european bodies -- long, slender and white skinned. These two body types are drastically different from each other. What is dangerous about this re-placement of a european body is it becomes the standard for the image of the *Hawaiian hula girl*. The danger that lies in the transformation of the body type derives from the construction of the image itself.

Landscape can act as a means to communicate certain messages within the image. In the images of Kanaka Maoli women for example, landscape(s) can link

161 Lacey, *Image and Representation: key concepts in media studies*. 

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these women again to nature. The dense green jungle backdrop aids in the manipulation of the image to organize the gaze and the norms of attention in the production of our relationship to this image. Landscape in this case may suggest that these women are helpless creatures in nature and become the object of the gaze. More precisely, they exist in harmony with nature or even exist as one and the same with nature. This narrative reinforces what has been said by bell hooks, the body of the colored ‘other’ is seen as the unexplored terrain, a symbolic frontier that will be fertile ground for the reconstruction of the masculine norm, for asserting themselves as transgressive desired objects.162

In the case of landscapes, the earlier photographs speak to a masculine viewer and the contemporary images speak to a feminine audience -- one that has been constructed through and by the masculine colonizer, the masterful one. This is an example of how gender then communicates itself in images.

The use of color can also transmit the meaning of time. Such is the case with black/white or sepia toned photographs that may denote the past as opposed to color images that may speak of a contemporary time. Color can also be used in images to arouse the senses to the dynamics and affects of dramatic transformation. To illustrate this occurrence, I explore several images in other galleries. The semiotic reading of the hula girl image became a useful exercise in exposing the intersecting oppressive processes of race, class and gender in a particular and highly contested cultural space. By paying attention to the signs,

162 hooks, Black Looks: race and representation, 24.
codes and messages within these images, we can begin to understand and locate the continuum of re-enactments of re-presentation — the means of production that create and sustain hegemony.

It is important and valuable to craft an understanding of this process of colonialism in order to dismantle the discourse that continues to disallow indigenous peoples to control the images that re-present them. More importantly, Kānaka Maoli need to understand this process if we are to begin re-claiming, recovering and re-imagining the images that reflect our identity.
Gallery 3
Makawalu: Ways of Seeing

This space adopts the work of Edward Said and explores the application of *Orientalism* in Hawai‘i. Post-colonial theory examines how Native populations were destroyed, oppressed, and transformed by the process of colonization itself. “Makawalu” can be defined in terms of John Berger’s *Ways of Seeing*. This definition provides a useful beginning to address the concepts of colonialism, orientalism and the colliding world views of western hegemony upon Kānaka Maoli. Makawalu also includes the juxtaposition of communal ownership and the highly problematic notion of owning Native cultures. The “rhetoric of revulsion” contextualizes polar ideologies by looking at the treatment of the body, sexuality, and hula.

The relationship between being seen and known relates to power. It is a tension between relationships pertaining to domination and freedom. A distinct example stems from images. Post-contact Kānaka Maoli did not have the power to create or control the images that re-presented the realities of our lives. Those who came to colonize Hawai‘i became the image makers of our people distorting the realities of our identity. For example, Hiram Bingham, who led the pioneer

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163 The way we see things is in direct relation to our worldview – how we see ourselves in relation to things that surround us and how we locate ourselves in relation to others around us. For a discussion see: Berger, *Ways of Seeing*.

mission of ABCFM\textsuperscript{165} missionaries,\textsuperscript{166} upon seeing Kānaka Maoli condescendingly wrote,

the appearance of destitution, degradation, and barbarism, among the chattering, and almost naked savages, whose heads and feet, and much of their sun burnt swarthy skins, were bare, was appalling. Some of our number, with gushing tears, turned away from the spectacle.\textsuperscript{167} Others with firmer nerve continued their gaze, but were ready to exclaim, “Can these be human beings! How dark and comfortless their state of mind and heart! How imminent the danger to the immortal soul, shrouded in this deep pagan gloom! Can such beings be civilized? Can they be Christianized?\textsuperscript{168}

Such subjective \textit{images} were produced in the forms of stories, photographs, drawings, and literature. These forms were then circulated around the world in texts like \textit{National Geographic} magazine, where “over the course of the past century, \textit{National Geographic} magazine has come to be one of the primary means by which people in the United States receive information and images of the world outside their own borders.”\textsuperscript{169}

The following example stresses the importance of circulation and

\textsuperscript{165} American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

\textsuperscript{166} Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, \textit{Missionary Album; portraits and biographical sketches of the American protestant missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands}, Enl. from the ed. (Honolulu: 1969), 40-41.

\textsuperscript{167} Emphasis mine.

\textsuperscript{168} As quoted in Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, "A Synopsis of Traditional Hawaiian Culture, the events leading to the 1887 Bayonet Constitution and the Overthrow of the Hawaiian Government," (University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. Unpublished manuscript, 1995).

\textsuperscript{169} Catherine Lutz and Jane Lou Collins, \textit{Reading National Geographic} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 1.
publication. On August 29th 2005, the state of Louisiana was hit hard by a deadly hurricane called Katrina. It would be documented in history as one of the most damaging Atlantic storms in this century. Like so many on that day who were not affected by Katrina, I remember being glued to the television with the channel on CNN anticipating reports about the devastation from the storm. As I waited for an update, I anxiously hoped for video footage that would confirm the reality of what was being reported. And proof was delivered by technologies of various kinds.

Critical reflections from that single event caused me to reflect on those who could not physically travel here [to Hawai‘i], re-productions (visual texts) became mnemonic windows which aided those viewers’ perceptions about Hawai‘i. What they saw, they believed to be reality. The notion of “believing what you see or what you know through images” as opposed to our realities is similar to how we process information via images and stories. If we cannot physically be present to see the devastation entirely, we rely heavily on the images and stories of others to aid in our understanding.

The multiplicity of images offered as realities to our lives have been accentuated by the differences that exist between Kānaka Maoli and the colonizer. The need to reinforce a “single continuity of culture” overrode any possibility of trying to understand and accept these differences. This led to the creation of a

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170 See: wa Thiong’o, Decolonising the Mind: the politics of language in African literature.
structure of power that differentiated from those who were in power against those who were not.

For Kānaka Maoli, this is how we became etched into history and known to the world as the "primitive noble savage." This image became reinforced by statements made by individuals such as Clarissa Chapman Armstrong, wife of Richard Armstrong, both members of the fifth company of ABCFM missionaries to Hawai‘i, who in correspondence to her relatives noted:

Week after week passes and we see none but naked, filthy, wicked heathen with souls as dark as the tabernacles which they inhabit. The darkness of these people seems to destroy the beauty of the scenery around us.

This activity of image making continued when the missionaries willfully engaged in mythologizing Kānaka Maoli, as indolent, improvident, and ignorant. These labels serve as,

Stereotypes...social constructs...which become consensus views...are most often used by individuals about people, or peoples, they do not know...have there basis in the material conditions and social practices of society...are an expression of the dominant ideology...which serves to

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172 As quoted in Wood, Displacing Natives: the rhetorical production of Hawai‘i, 38.

naturalize the power relationships in society...have a hegemonic function. 174

In the context of Kānaka Maoli, Nick Lacey’s words are significant because they provide an explanation, a source for such labeling.

In traditional times, Kānaka Maoli were considered expert horticulturalists because they excelled in food production. 175 During this time there was no concept of a capitalist economy, so there was no need to produce food in mass. This allowed Kānaka Maoli a profusion of leisure time 176 to engage and excel in other activities like kapa making, hula, surfing and mea no’eau. However the missionaries failed completely to reflect on this situation from this perspective and interpreted the lack of Kānaka action, to be lazy, idol, irresponsible, lacking in judgment, reckless, and uncivilized. 177 The missionary mindset mirrored what Lacey continues to say about stereotypes, “They are not based upon reality but are

174 Lacey, Image and Representation: key concepts in media studies, 138-139.

175 See: Marion Kelly, “Dynamics of Production Intensification in Precontact Hawai‘i,” in What’s New?: a closer look at the process of innovation, ed. Sander van der Leeuw and Robin Torrence (1989), 82-105; Nalani Minton, M. Kelly, and Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina (Firm), Anupua ‘a, Fishponds and Lo’i (Honolulu, Hawai‘i: 90 minutes, Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina, 2005), Videorecording.


177 For details see: Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, Native Land and Foreign Desires: how shall we live in harmony? Ko Hawai‘i ʻĀina a me Nā Kiʻi Puʻumake a ka Po‘e Haole: pehea lā e pono at? (Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 202.
ideas which reflect the distribution of power in society; in other words, stereotypes are not an expression of value but of ideology.\textsuperscript{178}

In providing an understanding about being seen and being known, I share a story told by Moana Jackson. He stated, "We were known as the great Peoples of the Pacific."\textsuperscript{179} For many decades, Jackson argues, we existed as one people and enjoyed many traditions, stories of our history and our realities. Jackson offers in narrative form, "One day, a French navigator by the name of Dumont D’Urville, arrived in the Pacific and, like many european colonizers before him, decided to re-organize the spatial arrangement of the landscape."\textsuperscript{180} Jackson continues,

Those who lived in the Pacific proved hard to categorize because in Tahiti and Hawai‘i and other islands in Polynesia in particular, they seem to fit within some perverse wish fulfillment fantasy of eroticism. Of women who seem to run around naked and compliant, dying for a white man to bed them and of men whose only interest was in fighting. Those in Micronesia and Melanesia were named differently. They weren’t renamed with the same sexually perverse allure, but were lumbered under the common epithet of a warrior, cannibalistic race.\textsuperscript{181}

D’Urville’s spatial ordering disrupted Pacific Peoples paths to see and know.

Jackson’s reading of D’urville’s acts of violence done for D’Urville’s convenience

\textsuperscript{178} Lacey, \textit{Image and Representation: key concepts in media studies}, 139.

\textsuperscript{179} Jackson, "Identity, Reality and Eating M & M's."

\textsuperscript{180} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{181} Ibid.
marks the devastating and permanent effects on the identities of the Peoples of the Pacific. In particular this also evokes Foucault’s premise in “The Order of Things.” A powerful event upon the Pacific — resulted in the re-naming of the continent Te Moana. This single act led to the dis-connection of the peoples of Te Moana, our history, our landscapes, our languages and most importantly our identity to labels such as Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia.

Jackson refers to this story as the “master complex.” It demonstrates how indigenous peoples have inherited fragmented histories designed by their colonizers. They are fragmented histories because they [the colonizers] deliberately leave out all the intricate details of devastation and destruction that indigenous peoples have endured. Jackson contends that another reason “for calling this history the ‘master complex’ is because we, as the Peoples of the Pacific, did not have the freedom to name ourselves. As such, it is an imposed reality of our identity.”

What is dangerous about this situation is that these fragmented, inherited stories from the colonizers became the currency of knowledge and were published as history. Linda Tuhiwai Smith adds colonial based history, is also about power. In fact history is mostly about power. It is the story of the powerful and how they became powerful, and then how they used their power to

182 See: Foucault, The Order of Things: an archaeology of the human sciences.

183 Jackson, "Identity, Reality and Eating M & M's."
keep them in positions in which they can dominate others. It is because of this relationship to power that we have been excluded, marginalized and 'Othered.'

Jackson’s story becomes a useful counter-narrative “about telling the truth.” It permits an understanding of the constructed image of the hula girl. Today, in the spatial imaginary of Hawai‘i, it also explains the inherited idealizing trope of Hawai‘i as the edenic paradise. Placing this narrative into a larger context of control and domination leads to an understanding of a systematic and complex process of power, colonisation.

The relationship of culture/art in the “market” sustains the colonial agenda. Culture can be understood as “the tools of self-definition in relation to others.” In the market, art is sometimes mistaken to be culture rather than an interpretation of the culture itself. In the context of Hawai‘i, tourists flock here and think they are truly experiencing Kanaka Maoli culture. They book dinner packages at Paradise Cove, enjoy a Polynesian Revue at Tihati’s or take a ride out to Lā‘ie for a day to experience the Polynesian Cultural Center. What they may take in at


185 See: Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull, Oh, Say, Can You See?: the semiotics of the military in Hawai‘i (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999). Ferguson and Turnbull offer a discussion as to how things happened to better understand why they exist today.

186 Wa Thiong'o, Decolonising the Mind: the politics of language in African literature, 16.
these events is not culture but rather a colonizer’s interpretation of culture, Kanaka Maoli culture.

What is seen to be reality is image making or an interpretation of the real thing. To help make these experiences feel “real,” Natives (not necessarily Kānaka Maoli) are often incorporated into events, reinstating the image of “happy natives here to serve you.” They may be the musicians, dancers or service providers.\textsuperscript{187} Within the tourists’ lens they, the performers, are the real thing, they are the culture. What makes this complicated in the market is the economic element of capitalism, which is a by-product of colonialism. It becomes an endless cycle in terms of sustaining and perpetuating a colonial narrative.

The market provides huge economic benefits for the colonizer. For those employed through the market, they become dependent on the money to sustain their livelihood. Appropriately placing the events of hula in a particular time in Hawai‘i’s history finally allowed me to understand why a whole generation of our people, especially Kānaka Maoli women, continued to dance hula at tourist events, both here and away from Hawai‘i -- it was a means of \textit{survival}.\textsuperscript{188} The colonizer benefits from their continued participation in tourist events that help to keep that

\textsuperscript{187} I am aware that at some level, we all participate as “service providers.” But here the service is in \textit{serving} the colonial narrative. In doing so, the benefits continue to be disproportionately unequal.

sense of "reality" present. It is one of the lines that blur culture/art. Kanaka Maoli identities remain sustained in a colonial narrative, while the aspects of "knowing/self" as Kanaka Maoli are more or less engaged, it may purport a lie. This structure imposes the colonizer's narrative about Kānaka Maoli and allows it to be re-produced, while the voices of Kānaka Maoli continue to be silenced. Perhaps that is why Maori educator and film maker, Leonie Pihama states:

> [Indigenous peoples] struggle to gain voice, struggle to be heard from the margins, to have our stories heard, to have our descriptions of ourselves validated, to have access to the domain within which we can control and define those images which are held up as reflections of our realities.  

My immediate response is, "decolonization ends with you." Equally self-definition also begins there too, within you. However, with regard to time, I don't think decolonization ever ends. I don't think of decolonization as something you can turn off like a faucet or a light switch. There are certain ways that colonialism has been constructed in which it is meant to contain us at some level. Within this process, we are managed by colonialism and kept imprisoned by it. I don't think we ever end the process of decolonization.

Instead, I think we become aware of its existence and craft a consciousness about its effects. This consciousness as Ngũgĩ explains becomes a "search for a

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liberating perspective within which to see ourselves clearly in relationship to ourselves and to other selves in the universe."191 This is when we become self-defining. It is having a critical consciousness about colonization, its structure, and the ways in which it keeps us engaged in a colonial process. Jackson says, "the greatest expression of freedom is to name ourselves."192 He contends when the Pacific was re-named, it changed the realities of the Native Peoples of the Pacific, that renaming has reshaped how we see ourselves, how we place our identities in relation to each other...it was to change our reality, to commodify us within a box that is not our own and then to say, 'this is who you will be.'193

His statement causes me to reflect on the re-naming of our people as "Native Hawaiians"194 which is another label, another imposition of a colonized reality.

As part of the Peoples of the Pacific, Kānaka Maoli were denied the freedom to name ourselves. Western identities through the passage of western laws forced a different reality from that in which our ancestors lived in our homeland.195 Our

191 wa Thiong'o, Decolonising the Mind: the politics of language in African literature, 87.

192 Jackson, "Identity, Reality and Eating M & M's."

193 Ibid.

194 This is a name imposed on us by the United States Federal Government. For a discussion see: Susan Faludi, "Broken Promise: Hawaiians wait in vain for their land," The Wall Street Journal, September 9 1991: A-1. The term "Native Hawaiian" is a label that acts as a divisive tool that continues to splinter our community in contemporary time.

realities have been created not by our own efforts but rather through the colonizing image makers. In reflection, I also think about how Jackson’s words mirror the lives of our kūpuna who were told that they could not speak their language and were abused for using it.\(^{196}\) I am reminded of our ancestors who were dis-placed from our lands through Euroamerican mechanisms of control, extension agents of imperialism, colonialism, and the banning of Hawaiian language (in schools) which contributed to the demise of Kānaka Maoli.\(^{197}\)

Today Jackson’s profound statement of exercising the freedom to name ourselves is being enacted by Kānaka Maoli. In creating our own realities, we are beginning to exercise that freedom to name ourselves. This action is alive within the sovereignty movement and can be evidenced by the various terms that Kānaka use to define ourselves. I, for example, have chosen to refer to our people as Kānaka Maoli. However, simultaneously within our community, the voices of our people name ourselves differently. This diversity is not problematic because it reflects the many lived experiences of our realities.

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\(^{196}\) Lucas, "E Ola Mau Ka ‘Ōlelo Makuahine: Hawaiian language policy and the courts."
\(^{197}\) Using a series of laws, the author recounts a historical timeline to reveal the demise of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. Lucas, "E Ola Mau Ka ‘Ōlelo Makuahine: Hawaiian language policy and the courts."
However, critical voices (insiders/outsiders) have interjected that this diversity is something negative. We are intentionally being encouraged to use a single referent to address ourselves. This re-colonization via critical voices becomes problematic because it mimics the actions of those who wanted to control our realities. It is a return to a monolithic perspective that has been so dangerous and debilitating to our people. It obscures the reality that within our own community, we, as Kānaka live amongst each other with the greatest sense of diversity. Although having a single referent is not a perspective that I support, I can take pleasure in the fact that our people are exercising the freedom to name ourselves. And by engaging in this act, we are defining ourselves. We are re-investing in our own realities.

Decolonization is a choice that each of us makes on our own. It occurs differently for everyone and at different times. This next example will illustrate what I have attempted to convey. When I was learning ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, I distinctly remember my kumu (teacher)\(^{198}\) saying to the class, “To tink in Hawaiian is not da same as tinking in English. Eh, so no tink dat pua (flower, blossom)\(^{199}\) equals flowah yeah.” These words, this statement became imprinted upon the fabric of my memory for years as I continued my tutelage under this kumu. It took several years, but I finally began to clearly understand the value of these words, of this


\(^{199}\) Ibid., 344.
statement. What my kumu was trying to convey to us was the relationship of these words and the power it commands to paint a mental picture, literally of a flower. These words were a cautious reminder for our locus of enunciation. The word “pua” differed greatly from the haole (foreign) world. More explicitly, the ‘ōlelo no ‘eau “I ka ‘ōlelo no ke ola, i ka ‘ōlelo no ka make” encodes the kaona (hidden meaning) alluded to by my kumu. Where I once considered the resuscitation that “pua does not equal flower” to the point of ad nauseam, I now find the words and statement so meaningful because I clearly understand the power paradigm that exists within this cautious reminder.

Indulging in our language requires a different orientation to the ways in which we have learned to speak, to think and be in the world. I am reminded of this experience because decolonization requires the same engagement too. It means thinking in a different reality, breaking free from an imposed reality of the colonizer. Because when we can think in a different reality, we become self-defining.

In Hawai‘i, most people may not realize that,

Tourism in Hawai‘i is a mass-based, corporately controlled industry that is both vertically and horizontally integrated such that one multi-national corporation owns

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201 Pukui, ‘Ōlelo No ‘eau: Hawaiian proverbs & poetical sayings, 129.

an airline, the tour buses that transport tourists to the corporation-owned hotel where they eat in a corporation-owned restaurant, play golf and "experience" Hawai‘i on corporation-owned recreation areas.  

The majority of money that a tourist spends to vacation here doesn’t remain within our economy. Instead it is "repatriated back to the home countries. In Hawai‘i, these ‘home’ countries are Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Canada, Australia and the United States."  

Multi-national corporations are included in global capitalism, which I cannot imagine would welcome any new tropes or ideas. This structure works well to benefit not only multi-national corporations but their home countries as well. Given this situation, global capital would constrain any new images or tropes. However, that is not to say that Kānaka Maoli have not thought about ways to infiltrate this space in an attempt to create new images and tropes. In the face of strong political awareness for sovereignty and the need to be self-determining, our people have taken our concerns to the heart of Waikīkī -- a mecca of tourism -- to state our demands.

On two recent occasions thousands of Kānaka Maoli have gathered and descended upon Waikīkī to make our presence known. In so doing, we have been successful at creating new images and tropes in that space. These events signify how we are arresting the colonizers narrative of quiet, tranquil, "on the beach at

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203 Trask, From a Native Daughter: colonialism and sovereignty in Hawai‘i, 183.

204 Ibid., 184.
Waikīkī images that are re-produced by the tourist industry. Rather than being greeted by the “happy natives,” tourists were confronted by Kānaka Maoli holding protest signs re-claiming this space from our colonizers with voices of resistance. Our actions, as Kānaka Maoli, clearly send messages that we are self-defining and are re-claiming, re-covering and re-creating our own realities.
In July of 2001, the University of Hawai‘i welcomed a new president, Evan Dobelle. The University was, “beset with [a] sliding national ranking, significant budget cutbacks, and a faculty strike in April [of the same year].”205 It was not surprising that Dobelle was selected among the “seventy other applicants…given his substantial reputation for enacting change and reinvigorating stagnating institutions.”206 Dobelle quickly assembled a team of people which has been customary with administrative changes to help carry out his “vision” for the University. This meant, “remodeling the university by replacing the old community college system with one in which the various regional campuses were components of one cohesive system. He sought to model the University of Hawai‘i after the successful University of California system by streamlining administration, unifying all ten campuses and turning the community colleges into four-year baccalaureate schools.”207

Dobelle’s new vision also included revamping the University’s “marketing,


206 Ibid.

207 Ibid.
advertising, and graphic identity program." By the Spring of 2002, the
University of Hawai‘i System began to explore its identity across the ten
campuses. Through a comprehensive analysis examination and by partnering
with The Brand Strategy Group, results showed that there were over 150 logos in
use system-wide.

The University administrators wanted to create a new unified logo for the
University of Hawai‘i system and initiated a “branding” project. Administrators
put together a committee of individuals from within the University of Hawai‘i
community and hired a consulting agency to facilitate this task. The University
community was asked to participate in discussing and forwarding ideas for a new
University of Hawai‘i logo. After a period of time, the branding committee
narrowed the logo designs to fifteen entries. The branding committee then
decided to hold meetings at various University of Hawai‘i campuses to get further
feedback from the University of Hawai‘i System community.

I attended one of these meetings [See: figure 4.1] at the Mānoa campus.
A Kanaka Maoli faculty member -- who I will refer to as Lani -- was in

208 University of Hawai‘i, "University of Hawai‘i to Launch new System-Wide Brand

209 Ibid. It consisted of interviews, focus groups as well as a comprehensive study of best
practices in education branding.

210 University of Hawai‘i, "University of Hawai‘i to Launch new System-Wide Brand
Identity."

211 Announcement of the scheduled of meetings.
attendance. She was so excited to see the logo designs. Among some of the final selections were kapa (cloth made from Wauke or Mamaki bark)\textsuperscript{212} designs.

During a question and answer portion of this presentation, Lani asked the University of Hawai‘i system facilitator if the branding committee consulted with someone from the Hawaiian community about those particular designs. “Yes,” the administrator replied. “Okay good,” Lani said. “Then I guess you folks know that one of the kapa designs in your presentation is a phallic symbol in Hawaiian culture.” There was a loud “Ooh” from the audience. Embarrassed, the administrator asked if Lani would stay after the presentation for further consultation on the matter.

Curious to hear the exchange between the administrator and Lani, I remained too. Lani re-posed the question, “did the branding committee consult with someone from the Hawaiian community about these kapa designs?” Again, the administrator affirmed the proper consultation. Lani inquired “who was the individual?” The administrator provided the name. Immediately, Lani asked why the particular individual was selected. The administrator nonchalantly replied, “because the individual is Hawaiian.” Lani explained that the individual with whom the committee consulted did not have kuleana because this particular person was not a practitioner of kapa making, but rather a University administrator.

Lani began to explain why kuleana was so important and why the continued

use of this design was inappropriate for the branding project. Lani further pointed out to the administrator the importance of knowing what they were dealing with before going ahead and using Kanaka Maoli culture in such a cavalier manner.

Shortly after the meeting, I passed the University bookstore on my way back to my office.\textsuperscript{213} As usual, I quickly glanced through the window and continued walking. Then I stopped. I was struck by what I had seen. I returned to take a closer look. I was deeply concerned with the window displays because it exemplified what I was doing in my research -- looking at how the hula girl image is mis-represented, appropriated and commodified. Here, right here at the University, was a perfect example of how the hula girl was being used to sell a host of unrelated products and services. Specifically, the hula girl image was displayed to advertise a myriad of University of Hawai‘i insignia products, such as sweatshirts, t-shirts, polo shirts, bandanas (imprinted with University of Hawai‘i labels), baseball caps, leather and nylon book bags, and CD cases [See: figure 4.2]. At this moment, a strange feeling entered my na‘au (gut)\textsuperscript{214} as I looked at this window and knew that something was definitely wrong!\textsuperscript{215}

On a woman’s size t-shirt read the caption: “Hawaiian Paradise

\begin{footnote}
\textsuperscript{213} At the time of this experience, my office was located in the Campus Center.


\textsuperscript{215} This reaction says a “Hawaiian Philosopher” Kaleikoa Ka‘eo, “As Hawaiians, we know what’s right – it comes not from here (our head, mind) it comes from here our na‘au (gut). When something is not right, we don’t get a headache -- we get a stomach ache -- we get nervous ovah hea (our stomach). Trust your na‘au. That’s your kūpuna talking to you.” "A Hawaiian Philosopher," www.sovereign1893.com.
\end{footnote}
Sweetheart.” An additional screened message conveyed:

I thought that you would like to know that someone’s thoughts go where you go. That someone never can forget the hours we spent, since first we met. That life is richer and sweeter, for such a sweetheart as you are. And now my constant prayer will be, that God may keep you safe for me.216

The strangeness that I began to experience within my na‘au lingered. I critically pondered the inappropriateness of the display. Next, I began to reflect on the message as being processed as “nostalgia.” I was immediately reminded that “nostalgia,” especially in the context of western hegemony, re-created the yearning for something lost or destroyed.217

This t-shirt was further decorated with a collage of various sepia toned, vintage photos providing an illusion of nostalgic Hawai‘i [See: figure 4.3]. It quickly reminded me of rhetorical images from Hollywood films like “Blue Hawaii”218 or “Gidget goes Hawaiian.”219 These films promoted Hawai‘i with visual images of “fun in the sun, on the beach at Waikīkī.” Other images completing the classic rhetorical trope of Hawai‘i found on the t-shirt featured women as hula girls, men appearing as beach boys and surfers, and visitors basking in the sheer enjoyment of wearing bathing suits on the beach.

216 See figure 4.3.

217 See: Rosaldo, Culture & Truth: the remaking of social analysis; Stewart, On Longing: narratives of the miniature, the gigantic, the souvenir, the collection.

218 Taurog, "Blue Hawaii."

Filling the background of the window displays was a large poster which, due to its size, became the focal point. The poster featured a hula girl swaying in a dried raffia skirt. The skirt was parted just enough to reveal a glimpse of her thigh [See: figure 4.4]. Her breasts were strategically masked by a thick red hibiscus lei. The hula girl’s long, flowing brunette hair was intricately adorned with a single red hibiscus blossom. On her body lay a floral garden. A lush band of red flowers fashioned like a belt for her kīkala (hip)\(^220\) and a kūpe‘e (bracelet) around her left ankle. The woman cast a silhouette to re-emphasize a repetitive image. In essence, a rhetorical trope. At the top of the poster slightly above the hula girl image appeared the caption: “Summer Specials.” Toward the bottom of the hula girl image read the following captions: “Check It Out” and “University of Hawai‘i Bookstore.”

Located within the display, the designer scattered tacky\(^221\) flowers. These flowers appeared to be made from a cardboard material using the most vibrant hues of yellow and red [See: figure 4.5]. These flowers were placed along each side of the hula girl and on the floor of the displays. Various re-presentations of ki‘i (image, statue)\(^222\) were dispersed within the display [See: figure 4.6]. These ki‘i were cut from the same material as the flowers [See: figure 4.7]. I sat for


\(^{221}\) Emphasis added.

awhile just looking at these displays, questioning the possible messages being sent to all who viewed them. What was the designer trying to communicate through these displays? I wondered what thoughts inspired these displays. I also questioned why it was necessary to use the *hula girl* and kiʻi. These images struck me as odd because in our culture, hula is sacred and the Bookstore’s display windows were a contradiction to that sacredness. This display epitomizes where the banality of the *hula girl* image thrives.

Feeling a bit disturbed about the displays, I wanted to get feedback from others and called upon a group of associates and friends. Some were from my community and others were professional colleagues. After re-viewing the window, some individuals immediately made connections to what I saw in the displays, while others were not affected by what they observed. For the latter individuals, they simply responded, “oh, it’s just ordinary.” “Ordinary?” I thought. Instantly the words of Haunani-Kay Trask, who so many years ago informed us of our mental oppression, entered my mind:

> We can’t understand our own cultural degradation because we are living it. As colonized people, we are colonized to the extent that we are unaware of our oppression.\(^{224}\)

Others responded with shoulder shrugs and verbal responses of “so what?” A few questioned the use of the *hula girl* image. And yes, there were even some who

\(^{223}\) Some members of the group were familiar with my research and others were not.

\(^{224}\) Trask, *From a Native Daughter: colonialism and sovereignty in Hawai'i*, 195.
innocently remarked "how nice the sweatshirts were" [See: figure 4.8].

Despite other opinions, I later critically unpacked the meanings embedded in the displays from a Kanaka Maoli perspective. My debriefing sessions led to theoretical concepts of semiotics and cognitive mapping. My engagement proved positive in “opening the curtain.” It seemed useful for those who never quite thought about these concepts and had never experienced a semiotic exercise. Excited about what had just occurred and now being introduced to this new way of seeing, they wanted to begin crafting a stronger critical consciousness. Thrilled about their connections, I -- in the words of Phyllis Turnbull225 -- eagerly invited them to begin “paying attention to the signs and codes” that surrounded them. By inviting them to continue developing this new way of seeing, I was exercising my kuleana in this “teachable” moment, about the diverse ways we begin to decolonize ourselves from a legacy of non-indigenous images that have come to re-present us.

Filled with my own questions as to what inspired these displays, I called the Bookstore and inquired about the designer. I was directed to contact a person I will refer to as “Dawn.” When I finally made contact with Dawn, I explained that I was calling to inquire about the Bookstore display windows, and the process in which they were created. I continued to inquire as to the inspiration and

225 I continue to benefit from the words of this wise woman. Her words uttered to me, while I was an undergraduate student in her courses, have certainly had a profound affect upon the way I now see and know the world. Phyllis Turnbull, Personal Communication. University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, O‘ahu. 1994-1996.
motivation behind them. Dawn responded by saying, “That it all depended on what was going on, on campus.” She continued, “Sometimes the inspiration for window illustrations reflect a particular University sport. If it’s football season, there might be something about football. If it’s Christmas, I might be inspired by that, too. There might even be a particular event on-campus that might spark inspiration for a display like a book release.”

She then asked if I had an interest in a particular window. I responded that my interest was in “the hula girl displays.” Immediately, Dawn’s voice shifted from a friendly tone to a more suspicious one. She cautiously continued, “Now tell me again, why do you want to know about these displays? Are you doing some kind of a report?” Suddenly, I felt my na‘au (gut) begin to turn as I concurrently thought about how commonly we, Kānaka Maoli, need to keep our ancestral alarms under control when we are confronted with these kinds of situations.226

Trying to remain calm, I slowly responded that I was in fact doing research on imagery and visual analysis. I humbly persuaded her to speak about her insights pertaining to the imagery. Instantly she dismissed my request for an interview. I gently inquired, “Why?” Dawn responded, “I cannot do an interview with you because it is against Bookstore policy.” From the tone in her voice, I

226 For a discussion see: Deborah A. Miranda, "What's Wrong with a Little Fantasy?" Storytelling from the (Still) Ivory Tower," in This Bridge We Call Home: radical visions for transformation, ed. Gloria Anzaldúa and AnaLouise Keating (New York; London: Routledge, 2002), 192-201.
sensed fear. At that moment, I was reminded that citing “policy” (literally) was perhaps a means to create an “authorial” voice. A voice that was informing me that she was designating some boundaries in our exchange. She claimed, “Any interviews need to be done with my supervisor. I’m just an illustrator for the Bookstore.” However, she said, “We could continue our conversation over the phone.”

I resumed my inquiry. Dawn explained that the inspiration came because it was summer: “And summer is about going to the beaches, playing in the sun and having fun. So I thought, since we’re in Hawai‘i, it would be great to hang up the hula girl posters.” She also added that because it was summer, “Lots of Japanese and mainland tourists would be visiting our campus and the Bookstore.” Next, I inquired about the inspiration for the ki‘i. Dawn replied, “It would be great to have them in the window to reinforce the themes of going to the beach, playing in the sun and having fun in Hawai‘i.” I asked why she chose to use ki‘i. She responded, “I see ki‘i being used in surf shop window displays at malls. And besides it’s used in a lot of films and commercials, so it must be okay.”

I inquired about the flowers and its significance. Dawn explained, “Well after all, we are in Hawai‘i, and we do have beautiful flowers here.” Although her response

227 See: Kama‘āina Backroads., Talk Story with the Hula Masters (Hilo, HI: 30 minutes, Oceanic Time Warner OC-16, 2008), Videorecording. This particular episode featured respected Kumu Hula, Nālani Kanakaʻole speaking about the power of the media as a major source to the continued proliferation of the appropriation, commodification and mis-re-presentation of Kanaka Maoli culture and hula. Also featured in this episode were Kumu Hula Tangaro Taupori and Charles Kaʻupu.
seemed shallow, it provided the success of colonial re-imaging.

I then asked Dawn, "What are your thoughts about the Bookstore in relation to the University?" I sensed a bit of confusion in her voice, and I re-phrased the question, "Is there any connection between the University and the Bookstore?" She replied, "The Bookstore is just a retail store aimed at making money. As a retail store, we cater to the Japanese and mainland tourists that visit our campus. Our main goal is making profit. It has nothing to do with the University. What I do is create displays that make people want to spend money in our store."

I then followed up and said, "So there's no connection between the Bookstore and the University?" Without hesitation Dawn said, "No." Wanting to make absolutely sure that this was her stance on the matter, I said, "Okay, so the Bookstore and the University are two separate entities -- they have no connection and have no relationship to each other?" Dawn again replied, "Yes, there is no connection. We are the Bookstore and the University is academics."

Feelings of sadness instantly began to well up inside of me. I sighed and explained to her about the University System's mission statement, and its impetus to respect Kanaka Maoli culture.228 I proceeded, "So perhaps, the Bookstore does indeed have a relationship to the University because it is a part of the University campus." I then added, "As the flagship campus of the University of Hawai‘i

228 University of Hawai‘i, "University of Hawai‘i System Strategic Plan: entering the university's second century, 2002-2010."
system, the Mānoa campus holds a significant role in this mission statement. It is
the vanguard campus where academic research and scholarship is being produced
and published in relation to the host culture, Kanaka Maoli culture. The
Bookstore sells the books for the classes that teach about the Kanaka Maoli culture
-- its preservation and perpetuation. The Bookstore also sells books that contain
research, created on the Mānoa campus, pertaining to knowledge about Kanaka
Maoli culture which is another commitment of the University’s mission
statement.”

Again, I returned to the topic of the window displays. Dawn said, “You
know nobody called about the displays, so it must be okay.” I asked if she
expected anyone to call. “I don’t know,” she replied. “You know there were two
previous displays that were created that made people mad.” I asked if she could
tell me about those previous displays. Dawn stated, “The first window display
was about a caveman who held two sticks in his hand and there was a poster
hanging in the window with a caption that read: “get all the tools here for your
education.” Shortly after the display was completed, we received many angry
calls from the Hawaiian Studies department. I just don’t understand why they
were so upset. I don’t think of Hawaiians as cavemen. To this day, I still don’t
understand why they got so upset about the displays.” Next, she told me about the
second display. “The second display had a person with dreadlocks all covered in
mud. It made African American students all upset at us. Why? I don’t

\[229\text{ Emphasis added.}\]
understand,” she proclaimed.

I attempted to explain, “Do you know that Hawaiians are often stereotyped as the primitive noble savage?” “No,” she replied. I explained to her the display encapsulated that degrading stereotype. I revealed that this stereotype prompted the angry calls from the Hawaiian Studies department. “Oh,” she said. Then she asked, “Are you Hawaiian?” “Yes,” I replied. “You are?” she surprisingly remarked. “But nobody called about this particular display,” she said. Her voice seemed to be a mixed bag of emotions as I heard the apprehension in her voice as she then proceeded, “So it must be okay?” “Well,” I said, “I’m now asking about the display, aren’t I?”

I was curious if she knew the religious significance of ki‘i. “No,” she said. “You have ki‘i in your window displays and you don’t know what they are,” I said. “No, I don’t know what they are but I know they must be popular because I see them in display windows in surf shops at the malls. And I also see many of them up on the North Shore, in films and commercials.” I relayed that her observations were warranted. However, those spaces demoralize the sanctity of ki‘i and their proper contexts. “What do you mean?” she interjected. I clarified from a Kanaka Maoli viewpoint that ki‘i held a direct connection to traditional Kanaka Maoli religion, Ho’omana Kahiko. Ki‘i were often placed on heiau (Pre-Christian places of worship).230 After a couple of minutes Dawn said, “Oh, I get

it. Putting those ki‘i in the window displays are like putting up crucifixes.” “Yes, precisely,” I said. Immediately she apologized.

“Are you from here [Hawai‘i]?” I asked. Dawn articulated that she was from the mainland and never heard of ki‘i expressed in its cultural context. I explained in-depth the implications of her acts of violence. Although she could deny having prior knowledge, Dawn could no longer use the excuse of not knowing. I internally withheld the rage heightened by her lackadaisical research. However, if I wanted her to truly understand the importance of such imaging, I needed to be composed and locate the calmest voice to say what needed to be said.

I expressed, “It is very essential to know that our cultural treasures cannot be relegated to a ‘flavor of the month.’ Equivocally, a casual borrowing of such pieces — assumed as hip and cool — should not be used to entice people into the store.231 Please do not think of our culture as a buffet line, where you could randomly select/collect things to merely ho‘onaninani (beautify, adorn, decorate)232 a window. It doesn’t work that way. It’s critically important to understand, when you take ‘something’ from our culture, certain expectations are embedded. These expectations are kuleana (responsibility).233 This kuleana involves participation, no matter if you want to indulge or not. Kanaka Maoli

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231 This is an example of the “spice” that hooks says is used to liven main-stream white culture. See: hooks, *Black Looks: race and representation*, 21.


233 Ibid., 179.
treasures are filled with spirit. I believe your responsibility is to respect and mālama (to take care of, care for, preserve, protect, beware, maintain, to keep or observe as sacredness)\textsuperscript{234} what you have taken."

I pointedly explicated, "I know this may sound strange to you because you come from a different culture and identity. As a result, your orientation, engagement and understanding will no doubt be quite disparate." I kindly warned Dawn that the continued misuse of our culture and identity would provoke similar responses received from the Hawaiian Studies department.

Dawn needed time to process all the information. However, I was determined to offer some critical connections. I tactfully explained why those from our community flooded the University of Hawaiʻi Bookstore with angry calls regarding the previous window displays. Their primary arguments should not be cushioned with any apologies. Dawn’s visual message encountered a Kanaka Maoli \textit{reading} of the meanings which blatantly offended our history and our existence in the world. This critical \textit{reading} may also be thought of as righteous anger, "the emotional/psychological response victims of racism/discrimination to the system of power which dominates/exploits/oppresses them. Righteous anger is not racism; rather, it is a defensible response to them."\textsuperscript{235} I hoped that this experience created an opportunity for her to learn that, one must be careful when

\textsuperscript{234} Ibid., 232.

\textsuperscript{235} Trask and Studies, "Typology on Racism and Imperialism."
speaking and re-presenting our people and culture — because “identity is no small issue for us.”

After all Hawai‘i is our homeland. It is the ancestral place where people can learn about our culture from our perspective, the Kanaka Maoli perspective. Therefore, it was equally important that she understand that this University took center stage in this effort. The University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa serves as an academic space where our people, who have been scholar-activists on campus, research and publish issues pertinent to our culture, our history, our identity and our language from our locus of enunciation.

“But you are different,” she said. “You aren’t like the angry voices from the Hawaiian Studies department. You are helping me to understand how my actions conflict with your culture.” “Oh, but I am very much like them,” I replied. “I have a passionate rage just as they do, but I have chosen to deliver the same message in a different voice. We cannot forget that the University is first and foremost, a place for learning. And, if this University is committed to help my people teach the world about our culture, I want it to start right here with you. I am an educator. I too have kuleana (responsibility). I want to demonstrate how that behavior of helping people to learn about our culture might be delivered. I recognize that by helping you understand what we know, there is a great possibility that you may become an ally and help us in our struggle. Hopefully by understanding who we are, people will finally begin to respect and value our

236 Osorio, “What Kine Hawaiian are You? A mo‘olelo about nationhood, race, history and the contemporary sovereignty movement,” 376.
Dawn asked if she could consult me on questions regarding future window displays and to ensure her Bookstore brochures were culturally appropriate. I alarmingly replied, "Just because I am Kanaka Maoli, it does not mean that I am an expert and can speak on every issue. In my culture, there is protocol that needs to be followed when seeking advice from a cultural practitioner. You should seek the advice from those who have expertise relevant to your question(s). Therefore, I hope you understand why I cannot provide advice to you because I do not have kuleana. My conversation with you only pertains to my critical observations regarding one display. You should consult with those who have the specific kuleana in visual design or window installation." To illustrate this point and the importance of consulting with the appropriate individuals when dealing with Kanaka Maoli things, I shared the story of the University's branding project with Dawn.

I then inquired if she had attended any kind of formal schooling to become an illustrator or designer. She said, "Yes." In fact, she went on to say she had a degree in window illustration. Next, I asked if she taught or trained students in this craft of window illustration. Again she replied, "Yes." "Good, very good," I said. "Then you now have kuleana to uphold. You have the responsibility to tell them about what we have discussed today." Without hesitation she said, "Oh yes, I want to tell them about what I learned today, so they will know for themselves and will not make the same mistake that I did." "Mistake?" I asked. "No, what
happened between you and I is not a mistake but rather an opportunity to learn,” I replied.

As I reflect on this experience of the Bookstore display windows, I am reminded of an ‘Ōlelo No‘eau237 “Ma ka hana ka ‘ike.”238 These experiences clearly exemplify what often happens to Kanaka Maoli as we are being re-constructed as cultural re-presentations by dominate others. Our identity and our culture literally becomes “window dressing.” The hula girl poster and the ki‘i are thought of and merely relegated as “spice that livens up the dull dish that is mainstream, white, Western culture.”239 It also serves as an example to explain how the dynamics of capitalism interacts with an image-based culture to lure consumers into the Bookstore, through images in the display window, suggesting the invitation to buy a host of products and services unrelated to Kanaka Maoli culture.

The word ‘ike (to see, to know) takes on a dualistic application and becomes significant to this experience providing an opportunity for me to share knowledge and talk about my research in terms of re-writing and re-righting

237 A wise proverb. I consider ‘Ōlelo No‘eau to be representations of Kanaka Maoli knowledge.

238 Pukui, ‘Ōlelo No‘eau: Hawaiian proverbs & poetical sayings, 227. This particular ‘Ōlelo No‘eau becomes useful to me because it implies the notion of engaging in work. In the processing of being engaged in work one can learn or acquire knowledge. My interpretation of this notion of working and exemplifying behaviors or characteristics extends to the actions or behaviors of a person or thing.

239 hooks, Black Looks: race and representation, 21.
images of the *hula girl* which are so often “hidden in plain sight.” The Bookstore displays become lucid illustrations of this concept of being able to see, yet at the same time being concealed. Applying this concept to the University of Hawai‘i's Bookstore experience, I again return to the question, “How can someone walk through the Campus Center without noticing them?” Could the banality of the *hula girl* image be the result of the hyper-stimulation and over saturation of the image itself? If this is so, has the *hula girl* then become so common place that she now is the backdrop to everyday life in Hawai‘i? Perhaps these questions unveil our desensitization to appropriated images.

Additionally, the experience at the Bookstore became useful and served as a ready example to engage friends and colleagues in an exercise of visual analysis. It led to a liberating experience of seeing the world in a whole new way. This reciprocal learning relationship ignites my passion to continue. After all, one of the many reasons I am conducting this research is to raise awareness or re-fresh our consciousness so people will begin to recognize how through visual imagery, colonialism is able to appropriate, mis-re-present and then commodify the identity and culture of Kānaka Maoli.

Going straight to the designer of this display window, I was able to engage in conversation which exemplifies my kuleana as to what needs to be done in these situations. For example in an academic environment, I believe artists need to be

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240 Kane, "Hidden in Plain Sight: the metaphysics of gender and death."
responsible for the work they create. As banal as the *hula girl* image may be, it mimics how capitalism is able to appropriate, mis-re-present and commodify the identity and culture of indigenous peoples. Dawn’s lack of knowledge in having a critical consciousness of Kanaka Maoli culture reflects the existence of individuals in the visual profession who deny the need to respect indigenous peoples and our cultures. They create and re-create *images* purely for the sake of profiteering. Yet at the same time, these encounters provide an opportunity to engage in “teach-able” moments which aid in respecting indigenous peoples and cultures.

Although it is not the primary focus of this textual gallery, I cannot move through a critical observation of the cultural productions on the Mānoa campus without mentioning the new and improved school mascot\(^{241}\) — “Vili the Warrior.” For several decades the university’s mascot was the “Rainbow Warrior”\(^{242}\) [See: figure 4.9]. Like Evan Dobelle who arrived with a new vision for the University,


\(^{242}\) In ‘ōlelo, the name “Koa Ānuenue” literally means “Rainbow Warrior.”
Coach June Jones had one for the football program and immediately set out to achieve his vision. Jones' re-vision plan included a dis-placement of the "Rainbow Warrior" mascot. One speculative view suggests the reason for this particular change resulted from the symbolic association of the "rainbow" to Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgendered communities.

However, a Kanaka Maoli reading of Jones' actions denote a lack of respect for our knowledge, more specifically Kanaka Maoli geography. The university campus is situated in Mānoa valley on the island O'ahu. The valley enjoys a multitude of lush landscapes nurtured by the constant rainfall. As a result, Mānoa valley is known for frequent sightings of ānuenue (rainbow). The inclusion of ānuenue with the warrior acknowledges Kanaka Maoli geography which is

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247 For a discussion see: K. Kapā‘anaokalāokeola Nākoa Oliveira, "Ke Alanui Kīke‘eke‘e O Maui: na wai ho‘i ka ‘ole o ke akamai, he alanui i ma‘a i ka hele ‘ia e o‘u mau mākua" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawai‘i, 2006). Oliveira’s research provides critical information to understanding geography from a Kanaka Maoli perspective.
imbued with spiritual connections to the environment and ‘āina (land).  

The dis-placement of the “Rainbow Warrior” calls for a serious examination. If Jones’ intention was to project an image of “machismo” he certainly accomplished his goal with “Vili the Warrior” [See: figure 4.10]. Up to this point, this textual gallery has been focused on the appropriation, commodification and mis-re-presentation of the Hawaiian hula girl. When looking at the image of “Vili the Warrior” it exemplifies how stereotypes transcend gender boundaries. This image may attain an ideal notion of tough masculinity. However, it does a great injustice to re-place Kanaka Maoli kāne (men) as the perception one headline confirms, “Vili the Hawaiian Warrior” (despite Vili being of Tongan ancestry).

Vili’s actions and constructed image emasculates Kanaka Maoli kāne through a manipulative “stereotype of a cannibalistic warrior” which Moana Jackson warns “does not belong to us.” Specifically Vili’s performances reflect and reinforce a primitive image complimented by “overly boisterous antics

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251 Jackson, "Identity, Reality and Eating M & M's."

252 Ibid.
including taunting opposing players,”\textsuperscript{253} and being “too aggressive.”\textsuperscript{254} Clearly this image and projected behaviors do not represent Kanaka Maoli käne. Rather, they serve as re-constructed examples of imag(in)ing and re-imag(in)ing.

Another irreverent cultural production includes the “ha’a” (a dance with bent knees; dancing called hula after mid 1800)\textsuperscript{255} embraced by members of the University of Hawai‘i football team. During the 2006 football season the team appropriated a Maori rendition of the “haka.” As the 2007 season unfolded, the referent “haka” was re-moved and the team re-labeled their pre-game performances as the “ha’a.” The dynamics of this situation immediately led me to question why the football team was performing the “haka” at all. Next, I wanted to know why they were now calling it the “ha’a.”

I understand the “haka” to be a spiritual protocol which belongs to our cousins in Aotearoa, the Maori. A professional rugby team located in New Zealand\textsuperscript{256} called the “All Blacks” perform the “haka” prior to their games “allegedly” for spiritual preparedness.\textsuperscript{257} As a result of a marketing blitz with


\textsuperscript{256} The colonizer’s label for Aotearoa.

\textsuperscript{257} All Blacks and NZ Rugby, "Allblacks.com," NZRFU,
“Adidas” \(^{258}\) (an athletic outfitting company), the “All Blacks” team and the “haka” have recently thrived in global popularity. This type of popularity relishes in creating dangerous opportunities for the “haka” to be appropriated, commodified and highly mis-re-presented. In this process, cultural protocols and traditions become a part of popular culture and lose the essence of their sacredness, their origins and spirituality.

CBS evening news anchor woman Katie Couric purported that the “haka” is indeed headed in the direction of becoming popular culture. Her statement “Learning how to haka your way to victory” \(^{259}\) introduced a segment focused on a football team in Euless, Texas. The report featured the “haka” by Polynesian \(^{260}\) members of the Trinity Trojans’ high school. As the spectacle closed, my concerns about the “haka” becoming part of popular culture were confirmed via the final remarks made by Couric, “see anybody can haka.” \(^{261}\)

Perhaps this growing popularity explains why the University of Hawai‘i


\(^{258}\) This popularity has been met with sharp criticism regarding ownership of cultural protocol and cultural identity. For a discussion see: David Thomas, R. and Dyall Lorna, “Culture, Ethnicity and Sport Management,” Sport Management Review 2, no. 2 (1999); Wayne Hope, “Whose All Blacks?,” Media, Culture & Society 24 (2002); Steven J. Jackson and Brendan Hokowhitu, “Sport, Tribes and Technology: The New Zealand All Blacks and the politics of identity,” Journal of Sport & Social Issues 26, no. 2 (2002).

\(^{259}\) Katie Couric, CBS Evening News with Katie Couric (30 minutes, CBS Broadcasting, 2007), Videorecording.

\(^{260}\) A bundled group of Maori, Tongans and Samoans were featured.

\(^{261}\) Couric, CBS Evening News with Katie Couric. Emphasis added.
warrior football team began performing this protocol. I am well aware that the
members who comprise the football team extend beyond Kānaka Maoli to include
various peoples of Te Moana — inclusive of Aotearoa. In recognizing this fact, I
can understand the connection of the “haka” to these members. However, we
must be careful about the casual borrowing of cultural protocols and traditions.
The “haka” does not belong to us, it is a Maori cultural practice. To engage in
such acts exemplifies repeated acts of dominant history, cultural violence, and a
cannibalism of ourselves.

The decision to re-name the “haka” as the “ha’a”
 may offer some insight
to the issue I raise above. However, my concern continues with regard to kuleana
and protocol. Although the authors of the “ha’a” are Kānaka Maoli and have
experience with ‘ōlelo do they have the kuleana to enact this “war chant” and
then call it “ha’a”? One report added that one of the author’s “training in hula also
added cultural flavor to the ‘ha’a.” This statement leads me to further ponder
“why is the football team doing the “ha’a”? Is it done because it is hip, cool and
macho? Or is the “ha’a” (spiritual culture) being used like the ki’i in the
bookstore window to “spice up” something for “entertainment” — in the guise of
football? The issues of such imaging is no longer focused on the hula girl, instead

262 Bill Palka, "Race Chant gives No. 16 Hawaii good vibes," dailyorange.com (2007),

263 Ibid.

264 Ibid.
it inserts that of a hula boy through the “ha‘a.” This situation provides still another example surrounding the concerns of *imag(in)ing* and re-*imag(in)ing*.

The cultural productions observed on campus (the branding project, the bookstore window, the new mascot, and the performance of the “haka” that later became the “ha‘a”) did not provide the actions and behaviors that support and demonstrate the University system’s commitment to honor, respect, and preserve the host culture, the Hawaiian culture and create a Hawaiian sense of place. These observations reflect what Taiaiake Alfred has told us,

> Our experiences in universities reflect the tensions and dynamics of our relationships as Indigenous peoples interacting with people and institutions in society as whole...universities are not safe ground. In fact they are not even so special or different in any meaningful way from other institutions; they are microcosms of the large social struggle. But they are the places where we as academics work—they are our sites of colonialism.265

I believe a critical analysis of cultural productions on campus model a new kind of behavior that might prove helpful to our overall struggle toward sovereignty. Perhaps, it is time for us to look at new ways to issue forth our form of kūʻē (to oppose, resist, protest).266

Over the past couple of years, I have critically observed methods of kūʻē.

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266 Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian*, 172. I do not mean to imply in any way that current behaviors of kūʻē should be stopped. I do think the critical voices that spoke out to Dawn’s previous displays were warranted.
These methods often impersonate notions of traditional western leadership of inducing threat, fear and intimidation.\textsuperscript{267} This methodology often leads to a total shut-down and lack of continued interest in the overall issues embedded within the sovereignty movement. Therefore, I am re-thinking my methods of kūʻē which I hope will lead to a greater understanding as to the depth and importance of sovereignty for Kānaka Maoli. In this manner, I believe, we as Kānaka Maoli, can arrest the narratives of the colonizer and begin to re-claim, re-cover and perpetuate the realities of our own identity.

Gallery 5

Pupuhi Kukui Malino Ke Kai: Looking at Looking in Hawai‘i

Just five hours away by plane from California, Hawai‘i is a thousand light years away in fantasy. Mostly a state of mind, Hawai‘i is the image of escape from the rawness and violence of daily American life. Hawai‘i -- the word, the vision, the sound in the mind -- the fragrance and feel of soft kindness. Above all, Hawai‘i is “she,” the Western image of the Native “female” in her magical allure. And if luck prevails, some of “her” will rub off on you, the visitor.268

The impact of colonization has left Kānaka Maoli struggling to embrace our language, culture, traditions and spirituality,269 in the context of World Indigenous Peoples. As a result of colonialism, Kānaka Maoli have been denied access to control the images that have re-presented them.270 The documents and materials from which people have initially become familiar with Kānaka Maoli is

268 Trask, From a Native Daughter: colonialism and sovereignty in Hawai‘i, 180.

269 For further discussions see: Apio, "1,000 Little Paper Cuts to Genocide: Hawaiian culture is being slowly bled to death.", Kame‘eleihiwa, Native Land and Foreign Desires: how shall we live in harmony? Ko Hawai‘i ʻĀina a me Nā Koi Pu‘umake a ka Poʻe Haole: peheka lā e pono ai; Liliuokalani, Hawai‘i’s Story by Hawai‘i’s Queen; Meyer and Meyer, Ho‘oulu: our time of becoming: collected early writings of Manulani Meyer; Osorio, "What Kine Hawaiian are You? A mo‘olelo about nationhood, race, history and the contemporary sovereignty movement."; Silva, Aloha Betrayed: native Hawaiian resistance to American colonialism; Trask, From a Native Daughter: colonialism and sovereignty in Hawai‘i; Warner, "Kuleana: the right, responsibility and authority of indigenous peoples to speak and make decisions for themselves in language and cultural revitalization."

270 April A. H. Drexel, "Umia ka Hanu: resisting "images"/determining ourselves." (Ph.D. proposal, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2005). Viewers need to be cognizant of the bias or creative license of the artist embedded in the re-presentation of these images.
steeped in the exposure to travelers' tales — including explorers and their artists, photographs, and much later through Hollywood films, radio and television programs.

In archival collections referencing Kānaka Maoli lie images accompanied by non-indigenous narratives that reinforce the re-presentations of our people as inhabitants of a primitive society. Against the backdrop of an "Eden-like" paradise, images of Kānaka Maoli were depicted as "childlike, simple and innocent," where the world has been led to believe that everyday life consists of fishing, gathering coconuts, bananas, feasting, dancing and lovemaking. It is with this idealizing trope that Kānaka Maoli, especially Kanaka Maoli women's identity, have been constructed with a supposedly un-civilized and un-restrained sexuality as the hula girl. More than a century later, similar re-presentations of Kānaka Maoli would lead to "a single, sexualized dimension that became a staple in the genre [visual culture] of Hawai'i."274

271 Artists like John Webber, Jacques Arago and Louis Choris. Their drawings and sketches about Hawai'i, the land and her people became the canonical lens through which the world came to know our people and culture.

272 Johnston, "Advertising Paradise: Hawai'i in art, anthropology and commercial photography." Eden is described by Johnston in the context of Gauguin's works and its, "indirect biblical and allegorical references and translate his vision of idyllic Pacific Islands into the Garden of Eden." My use of this term is used in conjunction with Johnston's description but also with an emphasis of an imagined "utopia" of perfection. A myth created to construct a heavenly fantasy. For more information about myths see: Barthes, Mythologies.

273 Wood, Displacing Natives: the rhetorical production of Hawai'i, 106.

Welcome to Hawai‘i - The Photo Collection

Through a semiotic\textsuperscript{275} reading of photographs, images and advertisements, I explore the appropriation and mis-re-presentation of the Hawaiian female image.

The employment of semiotics proves useful in revealing a multiplicity of political codes and narratives created within the patriarchal structures of colonialism imposed upon Kānaka Maoli. This critical reading is crucial because it exposes the intersecting oppressive processes of race, class and gender in a particular and highly contested cultural space, as well as, the narratives that construct the hula girl as the basis for a fictional, fantasy-driven culture [See: figure 5.1]. The painted backdrop of an in-door studio attempts to re-create a natural outdoor environment for these hula girls. The absurdity of the folds in the painted background reinforce the fake-ness of this “natural” environment [See: figure 5.2].\textsuperscript{276} Special attention should be paid to the thick leis that cover their breasts. Also, the young girls are “looking” away from the camera toward the left side of their bodies -- allowing the authorial voyeurs opportunities of prolonged stares and gazes.

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\textit{rhetorical production of Hawai‘i} (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 106.

\textsuperscript{275} Semiotics can be understood as a visual form of communication through signs and codes. I liken semiotics to be a kind of double consciousness. One where a message(s) is transmitted but it may have other implied meanings – multiple layerings.

\textsuperscript{276} See: Webb, "Manipulated Images: European photographs of Pacific peoples."
Selling Hawai‘i - The Photo Collection

Between the late 1800's through the early 1900's, a collection of daguerreotype,277 black and white or sepia toned, photographs of Kanaka Maoli women exists. Two categories of images can be distinguished within this collection. Both sets of photographs capture278 Kanaka Maoli women as hula girls. One set depicts these women fully clothed [See: figure 5.3] in hula attire while the other shows them bare-breasted, [See: figure 5.4] wearing grass skirts. Grass skirts are generally the term used to describe the type of skirts associated with the image of Hawaiian hula girls. However, the skirts pictured here are made of dried raffia and tī leaf (Cordyline Fruticosa). Raffia can be dyed to enhance its looks. However, usually without any dye added to it, raffia usually appears “cream” or “beige.” These color distinctions may suggest time periods. Raffia without any color may suggest a traditional time period. Tī-leaf appears in the following hues of color -- green, yellow or red. But the use of color may denote a more contemporary time. Both sets of photographs seem similar but they tend to mark separate time periods according to the distinction of hula attire.279

277 The first practical photographic process announced in 1839 by Louis JM Daguerre, was popular from the early 1840s until the late 1850s. A daguerreotype is a unique image on metal produced by treating a copper plate with a light-sensitized surface coating of silver iodine. For a discussion see: Susan Sontag, On Photography, 1st Anchor Books ed. (New York: Anchor Books, 1990).

278 Here the word “capture” can be understood as an extension of colonialism via the camera.

279 See: figures 5.3 and 5.4. Given the distinction between both images, clothing denotes a contemporary time period.
The casual placement of musical instruments reinforce the imaging via colonial construction. These photographs work separately and together to re-create an idealizing trope of Hawai‘i as an edenic paradise and playground tucked in the Pacific. There is a distinct difference in the use of these photographs that calls for analysis. The Kanaka Maoli women pictured as fully clothed hula girls commonly appeared and were used to sell an image of Hawai‘i in media advertisements, tourist brochures, *National Geographic* magazines, and travel films. This image gained more popularity as it was carried to the extreme by Hollywood films, radio and television programs.280 “These productions act as extension agents of the colonial narrative that assist the more naked eye coercion associated with armies, revolutions and the criminal justice system.”281 Essentially, they serve as cognitive maps which saturate and infiltrate the mindset to re-design, re-code, and re-define Kānaka Maoli.

This examination focuses on the photographs of Kanaka Maoli women who have been shown with bare waiū (breast),282 wearing dried grass skirts, and adorned with lei and flowers. These photographs have assisted in the construction of reified history that has consistently portrayed Kanaka Maoli women as

*Hawaiian hula girls* -- half-clothed, primitive maidens that reside in the erotic

280 Popular films like *Bird of Paradise*, *Blue Hawaii*, *Waikiki Wedding* and one radio broadcast – later turned television production – *Hawai‘i Calls*.


spatial imaginary of paradise. As promiscuous or sexually free, it is in these photographs that the bodies of Kanaka Maoli women emerge as a site of contestation. The hula girl is constructed as the metaphoric other who can be overtaken, consumed and transformed via the experience of visual pleasure. They transcend a destructive hegemonic dynamic that quietly conceals powerful messages of the national project to dominate and subjugate; one that re-enacts and re-vitalizes the imperialist and colonizing historical narrative of power through configurations of desire and fantasies of seduction.

What is puzzling is the fact that these photographs were taken around the late 1800’s through early 1900’s. Why, then, would these women be posing bare-breasted during that time period? Kanaka Maoli women did not dress in this manner. Given the specified time frame of these re-presentations, the colonizing efforts were successful and in full swing of reproducing a “civilized” society.

Here I am reminded that,

The revolutionary medium of photography, which reproduces aspects of the surrounding world on metal, glass, and paper supports, does not always correspond to reality and never has, despite what some of its early nineteenth-century practitioners claimed.284

Webb invites us to consider that “photographs such as these were vehicles

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283 Kanaka Maoli professor of political science, Noenoe Silva informs us that the terms “civilized” and “savage” were also used to justify colonizing Hawai‘i (1999). See: Noenoe K. Silva, "Ke Kū‘ē Kūpa‘a Loa Nei Mākou: kanaka maoli resistance to colonization" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 1999).

for sexist and racist attitudes.\textsuperscript{285} In one particular photograph [See: figure 5.4] it is important to note the spatial arrangement of the lei to expose the women's naked breasts. Their skirts have also been parted to reveal their thighs. Another consistent element of strategic staging that appears in both sets of photographs is the touching of their bodies. This act is yet another technique used to support the white-male fantasy which creates a link that strongly suggests these women share something, perhaps that they resemble each other or even that they are one and the same – helpless creatures in nature. From a Kanaka Maoli vantage point, this deliberate special proximity and its visual codes mark another project of exploration and exploitation, reinforcing the colonial narrative and preserving the “primitive” ideology designed particularly by white male photographers.

In another photograph [See: figure 5.5], the body language and positions of these women re-create a “primitive” image through selected poses. The painted backdrop aids in signifying the notion of the “primitive.” This distinguishes how boundaries of confinement are set up in photographs which produce the “object” of the gaze. The facial expressions of these women appear to be scripted as bare, empty and without life. Even when they look into the camera lens, I contemplate whether the women were directed to do so. The attire worn by these women blend in complement with the floral adornments to re-create an illusion that they are creatures of nature, while remaining the \textit{objects} of the photographer’s/colonizer’s gaze within the walls of a confined studio.

\textsuperscript{285} Ibid., 187.
More than just a prop for the picture - Acts of Cultural Violence and Symbolic Representation

In these historical\textsuperscript{286} sets of photographs (See: figure 5.6), the most striking evidence of strategic staging occurs when women are sitting upon pahu (shark-skin covered drums). It is particularly offensive that the pahu is used merely as a prop or object (See: figure 5.7). In Kanaka Maoli culture, pahu drums are sacred treasures that symbolize power and give voice to important events. Respected cultural practitioner, Kana‘e Keawe states: "This is not a toy."\textsuperscript{287} He contends pahu are more than just a wooden shell with a shark-skinned drumhead, "A pahu drum was imbued with mana, with power."\textsuperscript{288} From a Kanaka Maoli viewpoint, anyone who sits on pahu is literally obstructing its voices to the heavens and gods. These acts of violence are similar to people sitting on any type of table on which food is served.\textsuperscript{289}

Pahu find their origins in ho‘omana kahiko (traditional Kanaka Maoli religion) and were used on the heiau (pre-Christian places of worship).\textsuperscript{290} Such

\textsuperscript{286} Archival documents become "historical" re-presentations of, or allegedly implying, imagined/partial truths.

\textsuperscript{287} Elaine Zinn et al., Ho‘ala Hou: the revival of ancient Hawaiian crafts (Honolulu: 27 minutes, Hawaii Craftsmen, 1993), Videorecording.


\textsuperscript{289} In my family, we were taught not to sit on any tables -- which were places for food.

repulsive treatment of pahu being used as mere props insults our identity as a Kanaka Maoli. It provokes critical questions regarding cultural re-presentations, protocols and acts of violence. Barthes would refer to this response as the element of “punctum” within photography. “...a sting, a cut...which pricks me (but also bruises me, is poignant to me).”  

It is the deep intellectual response from my kūpuna within the na‘au (gut) who speak and tell me that something is not right.

**The Past Selling the Present - The Photo Collection**

Such re-presentations of Kanaka Maoli women evident in the early historic collections continue to be re-produced to this day [See: figure 5.8]. A prime example dwells in the work of Kim Taylor Reece, a non-indigenous photographer, who occupies space in Hawai‘i. His sepia toned photographs have been popularized via the tourist industry and by those living in Hawai‘i. Reece’s photographs continue the commodification, appropriation and re-imaging of Kanaka Maoli women [See: figure 5.9].

Reece’s images are precisely staged to allude to a scenic paradise capturing uncluttered snippets of the natural landscape in Hawai‘i. These scapes are carefully selected and framed enticing of the “exotic” outdoors to evoke an “erotic” invitation through the camera lens which functions as a voyeur focusing on the models sleek curves and subtle exposure of the thigh.

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292 For a discussion see: Meyer and Meyer, *Ho‘oulu: our time of becoming: collected early writings of Manulani Meyer.*
Unfortunately, the success of Reece’s work and others like him allow the constructed *primitive* image of Kanaka Maoli women to proliferate. His images are alarming because what is taken to be a depiction of Kanaka Maoli women is misleading. For instance, not all of the women in his photographs are Kānaka Maoli. Reece’s re-*imaging* complicitly leads to the erasure of Kānaka existence completely. It is disturbing that this photographer appropriates and profits from our culture by mis-re-presenting the identity of our women. Nevertheless these women are captured, commodified, and exploited on coffee packages, tourist paraphernalia, and other items — all under the label of “Aloha Spirit” [See: figure 5.10].

Reece has literally appropriated and commodified these images [See: figure 5.11] to another level by the use of technology and offers them to global communities via the World Wide Web. His actions convey a message that says, “never mind that you are not (physically) in Hawai‘i, buy my creations and you’ll be able to have a piece of Hawai‘i for your very own.” This widespread marketability via the internet exemplifies how the structure of colonialism allows Reece to simultaneously become a co-conspirator and global agent. In addition, he maintains a maha‘oi (bold, impertinent, insolent, rude, presumptuous,  

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293 See discussion: Trask, *From a Native Daughter: colonialism and sovereignty in Hawai‘i*, 179.

294 Taylor Reece uses technology as an extension of colonialism that aids in the proliferation of the colonial narrative of appropriation, mis-re-presentation and commodification of Kānaka Maoli but he also aids in the expansion of the colonial structure that now includes a global environment.
brazen)\textsuperscript{295} attitude and claims exclusive "property" rights to such images.\textsuperscript{296}

Reece's website becomes a space to display the multifarious opportunities in recreating and permitting the consumption of the hula girl image through photographs, coffee table books, and miniature sculptures.

Recently, and in the face of strong political opposition, there has been a resurgence of these hula girl images appearing in advertisements which lure people into purchasing a multitude of unrelated products and services. The image of the Kanaka Maoli hula girl has been used to market everything from a telephone directory [See: figure 5.12] to cigarettes [See: figure 5.13] and everything in between.

Using the genre of sexualities we can engage in analyzing both images which are imbued with elements of rhetorical tropes. Both advertisements offer textual referents directing its messages to be read through a specific lens of "paradise" and "pleasure." The dramatic photography on the cover of the Yellow Pages directory instantly grabs attention. The stylized red hibiscus in the upper portion suggests a link to Hawai‘i. The image of a hula girl dancing on what could be perceived as a painted backdrop of a pristine sandy beach once more converges to rekindle a notion of "paradise." The ever so light parting of the ti leaf skirt, which offers a glimpse of the hula girl's thigh, operates in the same


previous manner suggesting a message of being licentious — and ripe for the
taking. The allure of “paradise” is further reinforced by including a non-endemic image of the bird of paradise flower.

The advertisement for “Camel” cigarettes focuses on a lounging woman appearing to be a seductive hula girl. Her skirt resembles ti leaves.\textsuperscript{297} She dons plumeria kūpe‘e around her ankles and a quirky blossom juts out from her head. The use of flora and fauna assumed to be associated with Hawai‘i then links to Kauai\textsuperscript{298} — where the product becomes the image of “paradise” itself. The skimpy red and white hibiscus print tube top is a sign also referencing a connection to Hawai‘i and the illusion to “paradise.” The background of the Kauai Kolada cigarette package is topped off with hues of color one expects to experience in Hawai‘i.

The woman’s necklace is crafted from what looks like sliced pieces of lime. The shape of the tacky umbrella held by the woman also appears as a slice of lime. These visual elements of lime with stimulating colors purposefully bond in re-creating a “Twista Lime” flavored product. The woman showcases a coconut shell in her left hand which doubles as a “primitive” container to hold a savory beverage — a piña colada. These elements coupled with the pineapple on the top

\textsuperscript{297} I have doubt concerning the material used for the skirt because it could also be coconut leaves.

\textsuperscript{298} I am deliberately excluding the ‘okina in this place name to accurately present its packaging.
of the tacky umbrella and another coconut located in the lower left corner sells the "primitive" concept of Hawai‘i and the attached notions of "pleasure."

This advertisement promotes the consumption of cigarettes and sells it through signs and symbols of sexual allure of a hula maiden within a "primitive" paradise. The practice of selling sexual allurement by employing the image of the hula girl is a repeated marketing tactic which blatantly displays the continued disregard of Kanaka Maoli culture.

Everyday we see hundreds of publicity images. "In no other society in history has there been such a concentration of images, such a density of visual messages... We may forget these messages but briefly we take them in and for a moment they stimulate our imagination by creating desire or expectation."²⁹⁹ These images exemplify the commodification of "otherness." Offering these images of Kanaka Maoli women on these products can be seen as a new delight, more passionate than the usual ways of advertising a telephone book or even the consumption of a "nasty, vile western habit of smoking."³⁰⁰

²⁹⁹ Berger, Ways of Seeing, 129.

The Hula Girl Moves into the 21 Century

The practice of *selling* the imaged past into the present, like Kim Taylor Reece’s images, *Paradise Yellow Pages* or Camel cigarettes, move the *hula girl* image into the future. For instance, the headless, sleek *hula girl* image that graced program covers for the 2004 Hawai‘i International Film Festival [See: figure 5.14] sets forth a perfect example. It is no longer necessary to have the face of the *hula girl*. What we are enticed to gaze upon is a sexualized stereotype of her body reproduced and dictated by the past’s *imaging* of the *hula girl*. Nostalgic tones of burnt sienna/sepia translucently enhance the effect of the skirt made literally from film. The overlapping of film strips create deep shadows of burnt umber. The visual emphasis of film as a “cello” skirt transmits back to the historical images viewed earlier. A dim and romanticized light source connotes possible re-presentation to the past. Vibrant splashes of color suggest a re-newed, re-freshed re-imaging of the *hula girl*. The use of film strips for a hula skirt expresses contemporary technology and suggests the notion of future time. John Berger reminds us, “the fact that this image belongs to a specific moment but speaks to the future produces a strong effect that has become so familiar that we scarcely notice it.”\(^\text{301}\)

\(^{301}\) Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 130.
Several photographs depicting sexualized images of Kanaka Maoli women appear in a Neiman Marcus catalog. It was released in conjunction with the opening of its newest department store in Hawai‘i. Hawai‘i was featured in its lingerie section. Catalog browsers are introduced to something that could be considered, “Victoria’s Secret meets Hawaiʻi” [See: figures 5.15 and 5.16]. These advertisements are not newly created images of Kanaka Maoli women. Rather, they fester in a continuum of images from a previous epoch, in a highly particularized modern context. These contemporary photographs provide an excellent example of the dependence that publicity has upon the visual language of the previous black and white photographs. Berger contends, “Publicity is, in essence, nostalgic…” It is the means of production that has to sell the past to the future in order to sustain hegemony in the present. It cannot by itself supply the standards of its own claims. “So all its references to quality are bound to be retrospective and traditional. It would lack both confidence and credibility if it used a strictly contemporary language.”

302 Neiman Marcus, "The Book," 1998. Neiman Marcus Department Store catalog, October 1998. Although a catalog, it appears more like a fashion magazine with high resolution advertisements and fashion columns. In this particular edition of “The Book,” a section entitled “Hawai‘i: the islands of aloha” appears. The publicity of their Hawai‘i store is featured under the title, “A Grand Opening.” This particular section looks as if it belonged to the Hawai‘i Visitor’s Bureau promotional campaign.

303 Berger, Ways of Seeing, 139.

304 Ibid.
The visual correspondence meaning "the gestures of models, the romantic use of nature (leaves, trees, water) [See: figure 5.17] is used to create a place where innocence can be re-found [See: figure 5.18]. The poses taken up to denote stereotypes of women, the special sexual emphasis given to women's legs, the treatment of distance by perspective -- offering mystery" all bare a striking similarity with the historical photographs already examined -- inviting the male, the colonizer, entry into innocence and the powerful ability to soil or deflower it [See: figure 5.19].

Interrogating this sense of longing, we can locate a very specific kind of yearning of imperialist nostalgia. To better define imperialist nostalgia, I mean that there is a deliberate remembering and forgetting -- an erasing of history, culture and people. It employs a dynamic process occurring at a moment's notice that conceals the intricate historical details of the past blurred and masked by a sense of longing. A longing for the past that has been destroyed so that it can be invoked and re-invented within the narratives of imperial nostalgia. Trask defines imperialism as,

imperialism as,

a total system of foreign power in which another culture, people, and way of life penetrate, transform, and come to define the colonized society. The function and purpose of imperialism is exploitation of the colony. Using this definition, Hawai'i is a colony of the United States.306

305 Ibid., 138.

306 Trask and Studies, "Typology on Racism and Imperialism."

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Used in this manner, imperial nostalgia is the process by which the west exploits Hawai‘i, our ‘āina, our people, our culture and our identity -- in essence, our national treasures which include the daily lifestyle, values and personality of our people with our ceremonies, philosophy and literature -- stories, sayings, and traditional customs.\(^{307}\)

In the historical black/white and sepia toned photographs, imperialist nostalgia is attained by capturing these women bare-breasted. In the contemporary photos, the wave of imperialist nostalgia is attained through an assortment of production methods. One cannot help but comment on the dramatic transformation of color photography as opposed to the previous historical, black/white or sepia toned images. To attain, the photograph is embellished with hand-tinted pastel colors, re-creating the illusion of a vintage document which becomes the vehicle that manipulates, moves, and relocates us to a specific moment where longing occurs.

Another transformation relevant to the contemporary photographs is the incorporation of a different body type. The Neiman Marcus images depict Kanaka Maoli women as having Euro-American bodies -- long and slender and idyllic [See: figure 5.20]. This new and idyllic body sets the standard for the imaging of the Hawaiian hula girl. The danger lies in the transformation of the body type

within the construction of the image itself. From a Kanaka Maoli worldview, this transformed body type becomes problematic because thin and waif-like bodies imply negative messages of sickness.\(^{308}\) The construction of this body type does not fit into our paradigm of reality. Instead, a full-figured body was a sign of good health and viewed as maika‘i (good, fine, well, good-looking, beautiful, goodness and handsome).\(^{309}\)

This Kanaka Maoli point of view is evident in the body of Princess Ruth Ke‘elikōlani [See: figure 5.21], who exemplified and enunciated someone in prime health, beautiful, and representing wealth.\(^{310}\) A particular conversation between Larry Kimura and kupuna, Mary Kaleikoa reinforce this issue:

Kauanoe: Pehea na...ke ali‘i wahine ‘o Ke‘elikōlani...ua ‘ike anei ‘oe iā ia?

What about Princess Ke‘elikōlani, did you see/\textit{know} her?

Mary Kaleikoa: ‘O Ke‘elikōlani ‘o ko‘u ali‘i wahine o Moanalua...yes...Nani ‘o ia...‘Olu‘olu.

Ke‘elikōlani, my Queen of Moanalua...yes...She is beautiful ...kind.

Kauanoe: Wahine momona nunui.

\(^{308}\) In this discussion of body types, I feel our kupuna’s thoughts about being “sickly” are justified. In today’s world, the dominant ideology continues to support thin and waif-like bodies. As a result, a plethora of women and girls strive to attain this standard which has caused catastrophic, psychological and physical damages in diseases like anorexia and bulimia.

\(^{309}\) Pukui and Elbert, \textit{Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian}, 223. It is also thought that when you are in good health that is an extension of being a wealthy person.

\(^{310}\) See also: University of Hawai‘i. \textit{Ruth Ke‘elikōlani}, (Center for Biographical Research, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa: 26 minutes, 46 seconds, 2004) Videorecording.
Lady whose stature is very big (momona nunui).

Mary Kaleikoa: O yeah...Maika‘i kona kino, but koe wale no kona ihu, ‘ūpepe. 
Oh yes...Her body is good but her nose is an exception, it is flat. 311

Today, however, she would certainly not fit the paradigm of the dominant ideology that continues to support the Euro-American body type.

The desire for the “primitive” woman still exists, but while her eyes are “Asian-ized,” her hair “ethnic-ized”—now her body is dis-placed and re-placed by the dominant other’s ideal, thin and white. The use of Euro-American bodies in these photographs elucidates the re-presentation of whiteness as innocence. Dyer reminds us that “one of the most opaque masks of whiteness is the code of ‘nostalgia.’” 312 This calculated act of using this body could also be viewed as a means to deal with white guilt 313 and total dominance. However, a critical hazard is entrenched and camouflaged by this act to hide the violent traces of colonialism via whiteness. 314 These photographs establish a contemporary narrative where the

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311 Mary Kaleikoa, (Honolulu: Ka Leo Hawai‘i, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 1972), Audio Tape HV24.17.


313 Let us not forget that the actions of the missionaries themselves helped to create a “cultural bomb.” See: wa Thiong’o, Decolonising the Mind: the politics of language in African literature. This “cultural bomb” aided in “annihilating hula” see: Momi Kamahele, "Hula as resistance," Forward Motion II, no. 3 (1992): 40-46.

314 I am reminded of what Houston Wood has said about these kinds of actions, “...foreigners have clothed their acts of conquest in a rhetoric that aims both to justify and to disguise the consequences of their acts.” Wood, Displacing Natives: the rhetorical production of Hawai‘i, 9.
suffering -- imposed by structures of domination on those designated other -- is
deflected by an emphasis on seduction and longing where the desire is not to make
the other over in one's image, but to become the other. This is a kind of taking
into oneself part of an-other, via consuming315 products like lingerie [See: figure
5.22]. It is an instance of how mass culture and imperialist nostalgia take the form
of becoming the Other, by re-enacting and re-vitalizing the different ways of the
imperialist’s colonizing journey as a fantasy-driven narrative of power, desire, and
seduction.

In re-living historical exploration and exploitation through yearning, desire,
and seduction, we are extended the opportunity of experiencing the “primitive”
simply by having the photo itself [See: figure 5.23]. In contemporary times
there’s a twist to this experience. Now, we are presented with an opportunity to
become the other by consuming or purchasing codes -- here it’s lingerie. hooks
argues,

It is precisely that longing for the pleasure that has led the
white West to sustain a romantic fantasy of the ‘primitive’
and the concrete search for a real primitive paradise, whether
that location be a country or a body, a dark continent or dark
flesh, perceived as the perfect embodiment of that
possibility.316

315 For a discussion see: bell hooks, "Eating the Other: desire and resistance," in Black

316 hooks, Black Looks: race and representation, 27.
The codes are open and available for all to participate in through visual advertisements that re-create an invitation to experience the seduction, allure and all the pleasures of the "primitive" hula girl. However, in order to engage in this experience, one must purchase the goods which will complete the transaction. The power of these visual advertisements "is wrapping up your emotions and selling them back to you."  

The exotic landscape in the contemporary photographs attempts to re-create and then re-link these women once again to nature and its vast wildness. According to Susan Sontag, "the prevailing motif of nostalgia is the erasure of the gap between nature and culture." The dense, untamed green jungle [See: figure 5.24] aids in the manipulation and organization of the gaze in terms of our relationship to this image. This series suggests that these women are helpless creatures in a vast, encompassing natural environment and become the object of the gaze. Or more precisely, they exist in harmony with nature or are one and the same with nature. This visual narrative reinforces what bell hooks states as "the body of the 'other' is seen as the unexplored terrain, a symbolic frontier that will be fertile ground for the reconstruction of the masculine norm, for asserting

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318 Sontag, On Photography, 23.
themselves as transgressive desired objects." The "historical" photographs speak to a masculine viewer and the contemporary images speak to a feminine audience but one that has been constructed through and by the masculine colonizer, the masterful one.

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Using the idea of “drawing” from or on the past, Kānaka Maoli traverse the long and arduous task of recovering from colonialism. The process of recovery expresses itself in several diverse ways. Some of us engage in learning traditional art forms like lua (a dangerous hand-to-hand combat technique) and voyaging to re-connect with once familiar destinations using only the stars, wind and ocean currents. Some Kānaka Maoli immerse ourselves in learning ‘ōlelo makuahine (mother tongue) -- as a tool to embrace the wealth of stories and historical events based in Hawaiian language newspapers. In our struggle for independence, these diverse interconnections to the past exert our resilience and resistance to colonialism.

Three particular Kānaka Maoli illuminate the process of re-claiming and determining the realities of our identity through visual art forms. Each of them selects knowledge from the past to innovatively evoke new thoughts and ideas. Contextually, their visual texts challenge and resist past mis-re-presentations and cultural violences. They intricately de-construct hegemonic myths and imaging with Kanaka Maoli knowledge.

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322 Ibid., 284.
**Kumulipo • Nā Wā o ka Pō/Nā Wā o ke Ao** [See: figure 6.1] is a visual work by Carl F. K. Pao, Jr.\(^{323}\) It is an example of re-covering images and knowledge from our past. Some consider the *Kumulipo* a myth. But according to Kānaka Maoli, the *Kumulipo* is a sacred cosmogonic genealogy of Kalaninui‘iamamao\(^{324}\) to which Pao explains is,

> A source of identity and pride for all Hawaiians, the *Kumulipo* is a genealogical chant that links us to the land, the ancestors, one another and Polynesians across the Pacific...[The *Kumulipo*] should be understood as history, not 'myth.' This is the way we represent or tell our history. It's not make-believe. Because our history is poetic doesn't invalidate the truth behind it.\(^{325}\)

His visual interpretation is a polytych/series of sixteen wooden panels layered with oil based paint. It embraces the sixteen wā (time periods) of the chant, and intricately incorporates painted images within each panel. Pao has visually transcripted the oral text into rhythmic patterns to accentuate the images. Most importantly, he has taken this sacred text and visually "documents the birth of each new phase of life by the over 2,000 lines of genealogical chant that tells the

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\(^{323}\) Pao Jr., "Kumulipo, ‘Ekahi - ‘Ehiku." I saw this particular piece on a brochure at the Center for Hawaiian Studies—Hālau O Laka.


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story of the beginning of time to the time of Lonoikamakahiki.”

As an example of re-claiming and re-covering the past, this piece illustrates the commitment and kuleana (right, responsibility, authority and privilege) to create art that is specific to Hawai‘i. Pao asserts, “to function as a responsible piece — responsible to our culture, to my ancestors, to my peers, and those that will follow.” The attention to detail and labor evident in the imagery of this piece demonstrates his kuleana “and commitment to create art that is unique and specific to Hawaiian culture, land and people.”

In the Spring of 2005, the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa’s Art gallery featured a graduate show including Puni Kukahiko’s piece entitled “Paradise Seekers” [See: figure 6.2]. Kukahiko’s installation literally demonstrates, the work of bell hook’s text, “Eating the Other.” Kukahiko presents a table top

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326 See: Johnson, Kumulipo, the Hawaiian hymn of creation; Kame‘elehiwa, Native Land and Foreign Desires: how shall we live in harmony? Ko Hawai‘i ‘Āina a me Nā Koi Pu ‘umake a ka Po‘e Haole: pehea lā e pono ai?; Lilikalā Kame‘elehiwa, "Kumulipo: a cosmogonic guide to decolonization and indigenization."

327 Pao Jr., "Kumulipo · Nā Wā o ka Pō/Nā Wā o ke Ao."

328 Ibid.

329 Puni Kukahiko, "Paradise Seekers," (Honolulu: 2005). Kukahiko’s piece was a “live” exhibit, meaning the installation experiences daily changes as guests move through it. In the art community, these changes are referred to as “the happening.” April A. H. Drexel, Personal Communication. University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, O‘ahu. Diversity — Hawaiian versus Western Art Exhibits. Fall 2007. The images provided by Kukahiko were taken prior to my experience of the exhibit. Therefore, my reflections of Kukahiko’s piece may differ slightly from the images provided.

330 See: hooks, "Eating the Other: desire and resistance."
display of milk and white chocolate *hula girl* figurines re-molded from a purchased statue. On pretty candy cup liners, she scattered broken chunks of the figurines in the forefront. Distinctly lined rows of solid figurines were presented against a collaged backdrop of postcards *imaging* Hawai‘i -- to re-present the idealizing trope of “paradise in the Pacific.” Specifically, the blanket of postcards visually offered enticing silhouetted palm trees against beautiful hues of yellow and orange sunsets reflecting upon the pristine oceanscapes [See: figure 6.2].

Kukahiko deliberately left the other side of the wall plain white. Initially, this surface served as an intimidating space decorated with several rows of chocolate figurines [See: figure 6.3]. The plain white wall embellished with figurines then functioned as a cinema screen. A video *image* of the idealizing Hawaiian trope created by the same scenic postcards was superimposed upon that surface. One interesting movement by gallery visitors pertains to the idealized trope wall. As visitors proceeded through the exhibit, they were enabled and encouraged to sample the broken pieces of chocolate. Here, they *unknowingly* participated in a cannibalistic ritual of eating the other -- the *hula girl*. They preceded to the other panel where they walked pass the wall of chocolate hula girls with the superimposed idealizing trope shown on it [See: figure 6.4]. What gallery visitors didn’t expect was a video camera capturing the cannibalism with

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331 These items can be found at any number of stores that carry “tacky” tourist items like Wal*Mart, Longs, ABC Stores, K-Mart, Hilo Hatties, etc.
“everyone at the trough.” The enticement of the sweet chocolate and then devouring it was a visual presentation of the process of consuming our culture [See: figure 6.5].

In an interview with Kukahiko\(^{332}\) regarding this installation, I asked: “What inspired her to create this kind of art?” Her response, “I like to take art that already exists. Other people’s art about us and fuck it up.”\(^{333}\) One example she shared was taking the art of Pegge Hopper.\(^{334}\) “I used to be so in love with Pegge Hopper’s work,” she said. “I mean, c’mon, we grew up with her right? Her work is what we associated with when we thought about the art that illustrated our wāhine (women).”\(^{335}\) Concurrently while I was agreeing with her, I couldn’t help but feel conflicted because what Kukahiko was saying to me was right. Hopper’s work serves as an example of a non-indigenous artist that has profited from imaging Kanaka Maoli wāhine. But I thought to myself, “I love her work.” And instantly I thought about her (Hopper) piece “Mele Kalikimaka 1981”\(^{336}\) that hangs in my living room [See: figure 6.6]. Kukahiko continued, “Okay so one

\(^{332}\) Puni Kukahiko, Personal Communication. University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, O‘ahu, Spring 2005.

\(^{333}\) Ibid.

\(^{334}\) A non-Kanaka Maoli artist who popularizes and commodifies Kanaka Maoli women for a living.

\(^{335}\) Kukahiko. Spring 2005.

time I took a print by Pegge Hopper and ripped it into pieces. And then I made a lei out of it and that was my art.” This particular response to Hopper’s *imaging* of Kanaka Māoli women *strengthens* Kukahiko’s process of re-claiming our identity.

The final Kanaka Māoli artist is R. Kupihea Romero. This piece [See: figure 6.7] is entitled, “He aha nā mea e pono ai ka ho‘o ha‘aha‘a i ke kekahi lāhui?” which translates: “What are the things necessary to suppress a nation?” It is a pen and ink on paper and its dimensions measure 20 x 30 inches. The first thoughts and impressions symbolized by the visual rendering charts colonization through Kanaka Māoli eyes. Packed with intricate details of multiple narratives, it conveys a distinct complexity. My initial encounter with this “drawing” was seen from a distance. I didn’t clearly understand the content and context. However, the meticulous design and layered visual messages invited me to move in closer. From that vantage point, I began to make connections.

Immediately the reader/viewer sees a haole man with wire framed glasses and a stylized beard reminiscent of the colonial era. He reminds me of someone who came out of Benjamin Franklin or Thomas Jefferson’s era. The haole man’s overgrown side burns extend down the outer portion of his jaw line.


338 ———, "He aha nā mea e pono ai ka ho‘o ha‘aha‘a i ke kekahi lāhui?" (Honolulu: 2003).

339 Translation mine. Kupihea confirmed during our personal communication.

A kerosene lamp is fastened to his head. The lamp burns bright with a big flame. He appears to be an artist, painting a picture within his own studio. His studio is what I envision to be the “Master’s house and the master’s tools.”\textsuperscript{341} The studio holds art supplies with bottles pasted with the following labels: \textit{cultural thinner}; \textit{transparent greed glue}; \textit{cultural retarder}. Directly on one bottle labeled “\textit{plantation paint – money green}” stands an ominous figure covered in a toxic hazard suit. This figure is properly protected with gloves, rubber boots and a plantation style hat. Attached to his back is a container, it is labeled “\textit{poison}.” In one hand, he holds a hose, probably to release the poison. The other hand is pushing a handle downward as if to pump pressure into the container to spray the poison. Next to the “\textit{money green}” bottle of paint is a box labeled “\textit{new and improved genocide}.” To the left of the box is a circular item labeled “\textit{culturally sensitive}.” In the surrounding area of this circular object is a compass, new nails, thumb tacks, and tweezers.

Near the bottom of the picture, people who appear to be Kānaka Maoli are by a lo‘i kalo (wetland garden of taro).\textsuperscript{342} Two missionaries stand near them. One holding a \textit{Bible} near his chest is gesturing to the Kanaka Maoli man to leave. The other missionary is gesturing with his two index fingers pointed downward to a Kanaka Maoli woman, sitting with her child in front of her. Next to this visual


narrative are sugar cane fields. A woman emerging from the field is clad in typical plantation attire: boots, long pants, long sleeve shirt, gloves and a hat secured with a bandana. The woman appears to be hauling a bundle of cane, while a man emerges from the sugarcane field.

In the background, the viewer sees a plantation house with a man standing on his lānai (porch, veranda, balcony) gazing out at the Kānaka Maoli and missionaries. At the bottom of the plantation house lays a pump hooked to a generator. The hose is buried in the water of the lo‘i kalo. The ripples suggest that this pump is dumping hazardous waste into the lo‘i.

A Kanaka Maoli man near the lower left side of the visual narrative appears as though he has been shoved into a corner. Metaphorically, he is merely existing in the peripheries. An industrial stage has encompassed him, suggesting the invasion of personal space. Upon his head and shoulders, there are more and more industrial plants topped with a church. Next to the church is a collection of books lining a shelf. The titles inscribed on the books include: Colonist Manifest; Title Through Theft; Industrial Exploitation; The Holy Bible; Colonization Through Education; To Displace a People, vol. III – Policy and Procedure. The top portion of this complex visual narrative is rounded out with an outlined image of the primary Hawaiian islands. Lethal smoke from the industrial plants extend to pollute the islands.

All three artists demonstrate how they are “drawing on” or from ka wā ma

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mua, the past, and are creating and re-claiming new images of Kānaka Maoli that inform the present. The idea of drawing from the past to inform the present is not something new for us.\footnote{344} The term ka wā ma mua means “the past.” Literally, it means, “the time in front,” implying the future. Similarly, ka wā ma hope means “the future,” but, literally means “the time behind.” In retrospect, these Kanaka Maoli artists’ visual texts demonstrate routes from which we can emancipate ourselves from the grip of the colonizer’s images.

\footnote{344}{For a complete Kanaka Maoli understanding of time and space, see:Kameʻeleihiwa, \textit{Native Land and Foreign Desires: how shall we live in harmony? Ko Hawaiʻi ʻĀina a me Nā Koi Puʻumake a ka Poʻe Haole: pehea lā e pono ai?}, 22.}
Conclusion
Nani Wale Ka ‘Ike-na:
Profound is the Depth of Knowledge and Beauty in Hawai‘i

The term “nani” means -- beautiful, glorious, splendid.345 The term “‘ikena” refers to -- view, seeing, knowing, association, scenery, knowledge.346 The application of the phrase “nani wale ka ‘ike-na” -- beautiful, glorious, splendid is the view, knowing, association, scenery, knowledge -- seems appropriate here as we draw to close our journey in this exhibit. The galleries of Ki‘i Pāpālua serve multiple functions in this spatial imaginary. As cognitive maps,347 these galleries enable us to receive knowledge, awareness, understanding, recognition and comprehension. Equally each gallery individually and collectively contributes to the “pāpālua,” the second sight and to view the association which blurs the boundaries between imagery and colonialism found in Hawai‘i. Finally these galleries become a space, a place to see and to seek out the opportunities to expand ‘ike -- knowledge, awareness, understanding, recognition, comprehension, perspective348 -- to re-fresh the mind and de-colonize the Hawaiian hula girl image from its subjugation.

In this light, we can further our discussions and analytical observations referring to the Consolidated Theatres' advertisement. According to their ad, they

346 Ibid., 97.
claim they have been “Entertaining Hawai‘i since 1917.” Analytically reflecting on this statement, it was over one hundred years earlier that Hawai‘i began to endure what would become an endless wave of change. I am referring to the arrival of European and Western explorers, foreigners and multiple forms of foreignness which include disease, religion, education, economics, worldviews, etc. Now when I see this advertisement, I still take pleasure in its beautiful scenic landscapes, but find myself looking at this advertisement with critical eyes, teasing out the imagery that masks the structures of colonialism.

“Nani wale ka ‘ike-na” are the galleries of Ki‘i Pāpālua because they reflect the mana‘o -- thought, idea, belief, opinion, theory, the intention, meaning, suggestion349 -- of this phrase, they are the beauty, the glory and splendor of knowledge. It is the depth of this knowledge which allows us to view and continue to appreciate the scenery of Hawai‘i in this advertisement. And it is also the depth of this knowledge which explains the association of seeing and knowing the imagery and colonialism found in Hawai‘i.

Mo‘olelo: Genealogy, Politics and History is a place where we launched into a spatial imaginary. The sounding of the pū (conch shell)350 may be understood as an insignificant sound byte. But when I hear the pū, it now signals an arrival of a place where we, as Kānaka Maoli, begin our recovery to re-awaken and re-fresh our consciousness to truly understand the politics behind the history

349 Ibid., 237.

350 Ibid., 344.
that we have inherited which does not belong to us. It is not our moʻolelo. It is
not our reality. And in order for this knowledge to be fully utilized we need to
return to our archive of history, our moʻolelo. Nani wale ka ʻike-na.

I Ka Nānā Nō A ʻIke: The Genre of Sexualities the stunning hues of
yellow, orange, gold and brown blending into a picturesque sunset which
permeates a vast open ocean may appear simply as a landscape. However, I
recognize this image as the elements of the rhetorical trope of Hawaiʻi. No longer
is this “destination paradise.” The endorsement of semiotics reveals a process of
power and control through a system of communication generated through signs,
codes, sounds and symbols. The awareness of this process enables us to
comprehend how the hula girl images provoke meanings within the following
contexts: time, history, culture, stereotype, gender, body language, facial
expressions, body type, style, ideology of posing and sitting, and the use of color.

Having this knowledge enables us to read meaning from the images not just
through one context but in relationship to other broader systems of meaning. This
knowledge unveils a multiplicity of political codes and narratives within the
patriarchal structures of colonialism imposed on Kānaka Maoli. Now, the reading
of the hula girl image exposes the intersecting oppressive processes of race, class
and gender in a particular and highly contested cultural space. Nani wale ka ʻike-
na.

Makawalu: Ways of Seeing is really about understanding others. It is also
about understanding the relationship of power in the context of seeing and
knowing the other. The waves crashing against the jagged reef in the advertisement again offer another landscape image of Hawai‘i. In my analysis, this scene represents the lack of understanding diversity toward Kānaka Maoli as the result of colonialism and orientalism in Hawai‘i. Additionally, this scene symbolizes the colliding worldviews of western hegemony upon Kānaka Maoli. However, it also represents the unceasing resilience of our people in the face of adversity. Nani wale ka ‘ike-na.

Ma Ka Hana Ka ‘Ike: Creating a Hawaiian Sense of Place the multiplicity of scenic landscapes continue with the image of a wa‘a (canoe)\(^{351}\) with paddlers traveling across the foreground against the majestic sunset. This image becomes symbolic because it represents the movement of “truth telling”\(^{352}\) about the politics of the dominant history which obscures the boundaries between the imagery and colonialism in Hawai‘i. We can also perceive symbolism in the transformation of the sky from a brilliant sunset to jet black as the return of Kānaka Maoli to pō — the beginning of our Hawaiian “day.”\(^{353}\) Further, the fire-lit

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\(^{351}\) Ibid., 375.


\(^{353}\) This is yet another example of cultural diversity between Kānaka Maoli and western worldviews. From the perspective of Kānaka Maoli, our day begins at nightfall, while western culture honors the beginning of the day at sun rise. Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 333. Here I am reminded of the Kumulipo, whose first eight wā began in pō. For details see: Johnson, Kumulipo, the Hawaiian hymn of creation; Kame‘elelhiwa, "Kumulipo: a cosmogonic guide to
torches symbolize the awareness, understanding and comprehension Kānaka Maoli are experiencing in the process of our re-covery. This re-awakening of our consciousness extends to actions like “asking critical questions” such as “Who is your audience?” and “What is your purpose?” as we examine how the image makers continue to inappropriately use our culture as “window dressing.” Nani wale ka ‘ike-na.

Pupuhi Kukui Malino Ke Kai: Looking at Looking in Hawai‘i the pulsating beat, the reverberation of the pahu (drum)\(^{354}\) commands the attention of viewers into the advertisement on the cinema screen. The kahiko (old, ancient or long ago)\(^{355}\) attire along with flora and fauna adornments worn by the group dancing hula together coupled with the sound of the pahu transport the audience back through the corridors of time and history to fulfill their experience of “pre-contact” Hawai‘i.

When I hear the pahu, I am reminded that in “pre-contact” Hawai‘i, this pulsating beat is the voice on the heiau (Pre-Christian place of worship).\(^{356}\) The voice that announces the spiritual protocols which honor our akua (god, deity).\(^{357}\) These protocols enforce the importance of valuing the symbiotic relationships of decolonization and indigenization.”; Kalei Tsuha, "Kaulana Mahina" (M.A. Thesis, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2007).


\(^{355}\) Ibid., 112.


\(^{357}\) Ibid., 15.
mind, body and spirit -- the triangulation of meaning. I perceive the solemn facial expressions of the dancers to be the seriousness which parallels their story. As the living embodiment of the kinolau (body forms or body manifestations of akua)\textsuperscript{358} imbued with mana (supernatural or divine power, miraculous power)\textsuperscript{359} which adorn their bodies, the dancers restore the spiritual mana of hula. However, this embodiment has often been stripped from its cultural markers through the mis-representation, expropriation and commodification of our culture.\textsuperscript{360} Thus Kanaka Maoli mo‘olelo and hula contributes to the re-awakening of our recovery from a colonial narrative. Nani wale ka 'ike-na.

**Ua Ao Hawai‘i Ke ‘Ōlino Nei Mālamalama: Re-writing and Re-righting Images**

At the end of this cinema advertisement is an image of a “tropical” seascape etched into a boulder. The sun placed slightly behind coconut trees reflects on the top of the waves. Like the Consolidated Theatres advertisement, this image, the rhetorical trope continues to entertain the world about Hawai‘i. And it is precisely because this imagery is often viewed from the manner of entertainment, it continues its successful presentation without question.

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\textsuperscript{358} Ibid., 153. Many forms taken by a spiritual body, like Pele -- who could at will become a flame of fire, a young girl, or an old woman.

\textsuperscript{359} Ibid., 235.

\textsuperscript{360} My immediate example is what I experienced at the Polynesian Cultural Center, Lā‘ie, Hawai‘i on November 12, 2007 with the students of the Hawaiian Studies 478 (Mele Au Hou: Music and National Identity) course and their instructor Aaron J. Salā. For a discussion see: Christopher B. Balme, "Staging the Pacific: framing authenticity in performances for tourists at the Polynesian Cultural Center," *Theatre Journal* 50, no. 1 (1998): 53-70.
Ki‘i Pāpālua has interrupted this vision of entertainment through its galleries to re-awaken our consciousness to recognize, perceive, be aware and understand the important need to re-write and re-right these images. The depth of our knowledge, awareness, understanding, recognition and comprehension drawn from the past to re-fresh our mind. It then allows the process of re-claiming, recovering and re-determining the images that reflect a vision of Hawai‘i from our perspective. Nani wale ka ‘ike-na.

The closing of a western exhibit is an event which welcomes the participation of the public. However, the closing of a Kanaka Maoli exhibit is a private event, reserved only for the artists. It is a special time to hui pū (unite, assemble)\(^{361}\) to discuss and critique.\(^{362}\) Perhaps the closing of Ki‘i Pāpālua is similar to the description above in that it is reserved only for those who journeyed together through its galleries in this spatial imaginary. However, its closure does not end our visual engagement and discussion regarding the topic of imagery and colonialism in Hawai‘i. Rather the closing of this exhibit follows the definition of the Kanaka Maoli term ha‘ina -- to tell, to confess.\(^{363}\)

The term ha‘ina also refers to -- a saying, declaration, statement,


\(^{362}\) Drexel. Fall 2007.

explanation; to answer, as to a riddle; confession; solution.\textsuperscript{364} Perhaps our journey through the galleries of Ki‘i Pāpālua provided multiple experiences to make a declaration, a statement about the imagery and colonialism in Hawai‘i. Additionally it provides an explanation, an answer to the problem surrounding the image of the *Hawaiian hula girl* as a fictional, fantasy-driven culture. It also serves as a solution to the mis-re-presentation, commodification and expropriation of Hawai‘i, our āina, our culture, our identity.

The concept of ha‘ina is perhaps more commonly understood as, the two (or sometimes more) last lines of a song that usually begins with the word ha‘ina and that repeat the theme of the song. Mele (song)\textsuperscript{365} is but one form that expresses our mo‘olelo, our storytelling. And in keeping with the concept of ha‘ina, we now return to the central theme of this exhibit ‘ike. Throughout the galleries of Ki‘i Pāpālua, we have closely examined the multifarious definitions -- to know, see, feel, greet, recognize, perceive, experience, be aware, understand, knowledge, awareness, understanding, recognition, comprehension and hence learning; sense as of hearing or sight; sensory; perceptive, vision\textsuperscript{366} -- of ‘ike. I tell this story now because I want to raise awareness toward these concerns. Ki‘i Pāpālua is my contribution, my ho‘okupu (offering, tribute, ceremonial gift-giving

\textsuperscript{364} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{365} Ibid., 245.

\textsuperscript{366} Ibid., 96.
to a chief as a sign of honor and respect; to pay such tribute)\textsuperscript{367} to our people in our struggle to determine ourselves. Learning about Kanaka Maoli knowledge comes with great "kuleana" -- right, responsibility, concern, privilege, authority.\textsuperscript{368}

Now that you have journeyed through the galleries of Ki‘i Pāpālua, you now have kuleana. It is now your responsibility to tell this story again and again so each generation will not only hear the words and know the story but most importantly understand its meanings. Nani wale ka ‘ike-na.

\textsuperscript{367}Ibid., 186. Ho‘okupu is a traditional protocol among Kānaka Maoli that is determined by respect for the host, land, ancestors, or gods. It establishes a connection between the giver and the receiver that is culturally appropriate. See Kamehameha Schools, "Hūlilii," (Honolulu, Hawai‘i: Pauahi Publications, Kamehameha Schools, 2006), ii.

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Appendix A: Figures
Meet the Finalists

UH System Graphic Identity

Preview Meetings

A presentation on the final choices for a new UH System logo by Paul Costello, vice president for external affairs and university relations.

Open meetings are scheduled on every campus to present, review and gather input on the proposed choices for a new University of Hawaii System logo and graphic identity program. A UH system-wide screening committee worked with graphic design firm Robert Ryder & Associates to develop concepts and select the finalists. This is your chance to express your views, pro and con, on the results.

Thursday, Jan. 16, 104A00, 9 a.m. and 5 p.m., Library 2nd Floor
Fri., Jan. 17, Kipuka CC, 7:30 a.m., Kipuka Campus Kapiolani 308, Rm. 201
Tue., Jan. 21, UH Manoa, 2 p.m., Kapiolani Auditorium
Thurs., Jan. 23, 1st floor of Olin, 10 a.m., Conference Room B 100
Thurs., Jan. 23, Sendall CC, 12:30 p.m., CT 105
Fri., Jan. 24, Honolulu CC, 10 a.m., Library, Rm. 201
Fri., Jan. 24, Windward CC, 7:30 p.m., Malehuana Rm. 115
Meh, Jan. 25, Lau HCC, noon, Dining Room
Thurs., Jan. 30 Kapiolani CC, 1 p.m., Room 202 R & C
Fri., Feb. 7, Main CC, 10:30 a.m., Ka Lani 103

Figure 4.1

Flyer routed to all 10 UH Campuses announcing preview meetings for the final fifteen proposed logo designs

2005
Figure 4.2

"The Window Display"

Bookstore University of Hawaiʻi at Manoa
August 17, 2005

Photograph by L. O. Keawe
Figure 4.3

"Women’s Sized T-Shirt Depicting Nostalgic Hawai‘i"

Bookstore
University Of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

August 17, 2005

Photograph by L. O. Keawe
Figure 4.4

"Hula Girl Poster"

Bookstore
University Of Hawai‘i
at Mānoa

August 17, 2005

Photograph by L. O. Keawe
Figure 4.6

"Kiʻi"

Bookstore
University Of Hawaiʻi
at Mānoa

August 17, 2005

Photograph by L. O. Keawe
Figure 4.7

"Kī" Bookstore
University of Hawai'i at Manoa
August 17, 2005
Photograph by L. O. Keawe
Figure 4.8

"Nice Sweatshirts"

Bookstore
University Of Hawai'i
at Mānoa

August 17, 2005

Photograph by L. O. Keawe
Figure 4.9

University of Hawai‘i

"Rainbow Warrior"

Reprinted from

The Honolulu Starbulletin

website:

Starbulletin.com/1999/09/30/news/story2.html
Figure 5.1
Reprinted by

Hula Girls & Surfer Boys
Mark Blackburn
Honolulu, 2000, p. 48.
Figure 5.3
Reprinted from
Hula Girls & Surfer Boys
Mark Blackburn
Honolulu, 2000, p. 33.
Figure 5.4
Reprinted from
Hula Girls & Surfer Boys,
Mark Blackburn
Honolulu, 2000, p. 27.
Figure 5.5
Reprinted from
*Hula Girls & Surfer Boys*
Mark Blackburn
Honolulu, 2000, p. 22.
Figure 5.6
Reprinted from *Hula Girls & Surfer Boys*
Mark Blackburn
Figure 5.7

Reprinted from

*Hula Girls & Surfer Boys*

Mark Blackburn

Honolulu, 2000, p. 25.
Figure 5.9

"Kalei"

Kim Taylor Reece
Reprinted from the Kim Taylor Reece website:
www.kimtaylorreece.com
Figure 5.10

Aloha Spirit Coffee

"Pohakea Gold"

and

"Makana Macadamia"

Photograph by L. O. Keawe
Figure 5.12

The Paradise Yellow Pages Directory

Photograph by L. O. Keawe
Figure 5.13

"Kauai Kolada"

and

"Twista Lime"

Camel Cigarette Advertisement

Reprinted from the American Lung Association website:

www.lungusa.org/utf/cf7%B7A8D42C2-FCCA-4604-8ADE-7FD5E762256%7D/CANDYREPORT.PDF
Figure 5.15
Reprinted from
The Book
Neiman Marcus
Figure 5.17
Figure 5.18
Figure 5.19
Reprinted from
The Book
Neiman Marcus
Figure 5.20
Figure 5.21
"Princess Ruth Keʻelikōlani"
Reprinted from Answers.com website.
www.answers.com/topic/keelikolani
Figure 5.22
Figure 5.24
Figure 6.2

"Paradise Seekers"
Puni Kukahiko
2005

Photograph courtesy of Puni Kukahiko
Figure 6.3

“Paradise Seekers”

Puni Kukahiko
2005

Photograph courtesy of
Puni Kukahiko
Figure 6.4

"Paradise Seekers"

Puni Kukahiko
2005

Photograph courtesy of
Puni Kukahiko
Figure 6.5

"Paradise Seekers"

Puni Kukahiko

2005

Photograph courtesy of Puni Kukahiko
Figure 6.6
Peggy Hopper
"Mele Kaikemaka 1981"
Figure 6.7

"He aha nā mea e pono ai ka ho'ohana 'aha'a i kekahi lahu'ry?"

R. Kupihea Romero
2005

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